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# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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18 JULY 1986

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

SOVIET PEACE FUND OPERATIONS DISCUSSED

Interview With Chairman

McDOW SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Apr 86 p 1

[Article: "At the Bidding of the Heart": "25th Anniversary of the Soviet Peace Fund"]

[Text] On the occasion of this noteworthy date A. Ye. Karpov, chairman of the board of the Soviet Peace Fund and outstanding Soviet chess player, granted an interview to a TASS correspondent.

[TASS correspondent] "Anatoliy Yevgenyevich, what are the principal directions in the work of the Soviet Peace Fund at the present time?"

[Karpov] "They are based upon the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, which adopted a program of struggle for peace and social progress. Above all this means expansion of the antiwar movement and strengthening of anti-imperialist solidarity."

"In the minds of Soviet people, labor and peace are inseparable. Therefore it is no coincidence that the flow of voluntary contributions to the Soviet Peace Fund grows with each passing year. At the present time we are receiving contributions from 100 million Soviet citizens who are convinced that human happiness and joy cannot exist without peace on Earth."

[TASS correspondent] "You gave the figure of 100 million. That is more than one-third of our country's population! Does that mean that we have good cause to call the Soviet Peace Fund truly a people's treasury?"

[Karpov] "Of course. Participating in the Fund are members of all generations, from school children to retirees, members of all social strata and professions, of all nationalities."

"In this country there are approximately 350,000 Soviet Peace Fund auxiliary commissions; these employ five million activists who work as volunteers. The letters and telegrams received by our board of directors testify to the feelings which move people to help the Fund:

'During the 27th CPSU Congress the collective of the Andreyevka livestock breeding farm in the Omskiy Rayon of Omsk Oblast, as a sign of support for the party's peace-loving policy, is sending the Soviet Peace Fund a prize in the sum of 400 rubles. We thank the CPSU Central Committee for its concern for rural workers.'

'I, an invalid of the Great Patriotic War, learned with great satisfaction of the decisions made by the 27th CPSU Congress. I was especially moved by what was said concerning the responsibility of all people on Earth for the fate of peace on our planet. For eight years in a row I have been contributing my monthly pension of 110 rubles to the Soviet Peace Fund. On the eve of the convocation of the party congress I am sending another two months' of my pension. I ask that you consider this my modest contribution to the cause of peace.' Signed: Goncharov, city of Pavlodar."

[TASS correspondent] "Anatoliy Yevgenyevich, for what purposes are Soviet Peace Fund funds spent? What kind of assistance does the Soviet Peace Fund render, and to whom?"

[Karpov] "In accordance with the wishes of Fund contributors, our funds are only spent for the purpose of strengthening peace and international security and for the development of solidarity with peoples which are fighting for their independence and freedom. These funds are allocated to support the work of 16 Soviet public organizations. Along with these organizations the Peace Fund gives material assistance of a humanitarian nature to the victims of acts of imperialist aggression and genocide, as well as to victims of massive natural disasters. This type of assistance is rendered in the form of shipments of medicine, clothing, shoes, fabrics, vehicles and some types of food; these shipments are sent to the populations of Vietnam, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Lebanon and other countries."

"Expressing the wishes of its contributors, during the year of the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory the Peace Fund gave 15 million rubles toward the construction in Moscow of a memorial to the Victory of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War. Considerable sums have also been allocated to immortalize Soviets who fought against fascism in the territory of European countries or who were tortured in fascist concentration camps."

"The lessons of history teach us that we must fight against war before it begins. Therefore our organization devotes its efforts toward development of the antiwar movement and does everything in its power to foster solidarity among peace-loving forces."

#### Finances Described

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 15, 8 Apr 86 p 8

[Article by T. Grigoryev, secretary of the Soviet Peace Fund Board]

[Text] "Could you tell us where Soviet Peace Fund money comes from, and where it goes?" -- D. Guzeyev, Moscow

The origins of the Soviet Peace Fund, which was founded in 1961, go back to the 1950's. At that time our country's public organizations spontaneously began to receive sums of money with this short designation attached: "For the cause of peace." Later this flow of money reached such proportions that it became necessary to set up a special organization which would oversee the efficient and purposeful use of these funds.

It was in this way that the Peace Fund was established, in response to a truly popular initiative. This gave a legal structure to the desire of millions of Soviets to give material support to the cause of peace.

The Fund has branches in all republics, krais, oblasts, cities and rayons. Fund auxiliary commissions (groups) exist in many production collectives and educational institutions and at places of residence. At the present time there are over 350,000 such commissions in this country; five million activists do volunteer work on these commissions.

The highest organ of the Fund is the All-Union Conference of the Soviet Peace Fund, which is convened once every five years. During the period between conferences the Fund's activities are administered by the Board. The chairman of this Board is A. Karpov, world chess champion. Among the members of the Board are workers and kolkhoz members, prominent scientific and cultural figures and public and religious figures.

What are the sources of the Peace Fund's money? Over 100 million Soviets are making voluntary contributions. These include individual gifts by mail, and funds raised during voluntary Saturday or Sunday workdays, and receipts from specially staged shows, concerts and exhibition/sales of paintings and other works of art, and honorariums turned over to the Fund, and collections taken up by various religious communities. Voluntary financial contributions are also received from citizens of other countries.

"We as mothers are filled with the resolve to fight for a clean, peaceful sky over the heads of our children," declare, for example, the employees of Pharmacy #54 in the city of Magadan, backing up their wishes with a donation. "I earned three rubles collecting medicinal grasses. Chase away war," requests first-grader Vova Maksimenko, of the city of Nakhodka. "Today I received my very first pension money. I request that the Peace Fund accept it."

As B. Polevoy, a well-known writer and one of the founders of the Peace Fund, has written, "the Soviet Peace Fund is not only a treasury for peace... it is a mirror of the Soviet man's soul."

The bourgeois mass media are disseminating many falsehoods concerning the Peace Fund. Let us take a look at what its funds are actually being spent for.

The Soviet Peace Fund participates in financial support for research on the problems of peace and disarmament and produces antiwar movies, brochures, posters and badges. Thus over the past three years the Scientific Council for Research on the Problem of Peace and Disarmament has published approximately



100 books and brochures on antiwar topics; these have had a publication total of 1.5 million copies.

These publications, which are prepared by prominent Soviet scientists and public figures, make it possible for the foreign reader to learn the truth about the Soviet approach to problems of peace and disarmament, about the Soviet State's numerous peace initiatives, and about the contribution being made by the public in our country to the antiwar struggle being conducted by the peace-loving forces of our planet.

Peace Fund money is utilized at the initiative of public organizations for the purpose of rendering material assistance to those who have become the victims of acts of imperialist aggression and genocide, as well as the population of countries which have suffered from massive natural disasters. Such assistance has been given to the peoples of Vietnam, Ethiopia, Burkina Faso, Madagascar, Mexico and other countries. In 1985 a considerable amount of material assistance was rendered to the "Vatan" agencies in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan; there children whose parents have died in the struggle against counterrevolution live and study.

The Peace Fund aids development of communications and contacts between the Soviet public and foreign movements and organizations which are fighting for their countries' independence and for peace, friendship and cooperation between peoples.

The Fund finances the activities of 16 nongovernmental organizations in the USSR. Among these are the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the Soviet Women's Committee, the Soviet War Veterans' Committee and others.

In 1985 over 4,000 students from 65 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America studied in the Soviet Union with funding from the Peace Fund.

In the year of the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory, expressing the wishes of its contributors, the Peace Fund gave 15 million rubles for the construction in Moscow of a memorial to the Victory of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45.

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

VARIETY OF ELEMENTS IN PEACE MOVEMENT HIGHLIGHTED

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 4, Apr 86 pp 59-66

[Article by Professor B. Koval, doctor of historical sciences: "Mass Democratic Movements in the Struggle for Peace"]

[Text] Politics is firmly part of the flesh and blood of the modern generation. Family, religious and professional relationships, moral precepts and all human relationships inevitably acquire some political coloration or another. This is one of the most important and irreversible results of the development of human civilization in the 20th Century.

In previous stages of history, and this situation continued for centuries, political activity was the business of the ruling classes. The ordinary person was concerned about the most urgent needs, his own survival, and was not at all interested in general political life and most often simply did not understand its meaning. Later, with the development of capitalism, the sphere of politics was substantially broadened. The bourgeoisie and proletariat created their own parties, attempting to influence other classes and strata, public opinion and the activity of the state. However, an obvious minority initially participated in the political processes independently, and even fewer consciously. The majority passively adapted to them. Only gradually did the "lower classes" become drawn into politics, at first on the initiative of various groups of the ruling classes themselves.

Only by the mid-19th Century did the definitive shaping of political interests and actions of the masses take place in a number of the most developed countries of western Europe, most of all among the city proletariat. From obedient "infantry" of the exploiting classes the masses of workers began to turn into a new and formidable social force. This process took place unevenly, in fits and starts, overcoming the tremendous resistance of traditions of passiveness and submissiveness and blind faith in the wisdom and goodness of the masters and those in power. In different countries the masses were drawn into politics at different rates and times.

If we take Russia, for example, only during the years of the 1905-1907 revolution did "a nation of slaves turn for the first time into a host of millions, an army of revolution, attacking Tsarism" (V. I. Lenin, Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 17, p 361). Under the influence

of the first peoples revolution of the 20th Century the working masses of many Asian countries were also awakened to open class struggle. The victory of the October Revolution had a still more powerful affect on the political education of the "lower classes." During 1917-1923 a powerful revolutionary wave arose in many countries, during which the International Communist Movement originated. "THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION," it is noted in the new edition of the CPSU Program, "BECAME THE TURNING POINT IN WORLD HISTORY, DETERMINED THE GENERAL DIRECTION AND MAIN TENDENCIES OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT AND LAY THE BASIS FOR IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS -- THE REPLACEMENT OF CAPITALISM WITH A NEW, COMMUNIST SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE."

The main substance of world development after 1917 became the sharp conflict of two tendencies in political life -- revolutionary and counter-revolutionary. The first of these, due to the construction of a new, socialist society which had begun and the activity of Communists, became of primary importance. Capitalism passed the point of its zenith and began steadily to decline. Under the influence of the October Revolution, this process summoned to life a rapid increase in the political activeness of the international working class and all workers.

Experience shows that at each stage of history, simultaneously with the change in the forms and scales of mass participation and politics, the content of the political processes itself also changes in some respect. Different states, depending on the level of their development and their position in the system of the world community, characteristically also have different political priorities. Thus, in our day for some countries this is the struggle for national liberation; for others the defense of state independence already gained; for a third group it is the realization of a socialist developmental orientation; and for a fourth group it is the perfection of socialism which has already been built.

However, if one has in mind global (worldwide) scales, tendencies can also be revealed which define one or another historical era. In its day the transition from feudalism to capitalism was a universal imperative. In the 20th Century the transition from capitalism to socialism became this imperative.

Socialism, which initially became a reality in our country, today has turned into a worldwide system. On the international scale Marxist-Leninist theory for building a new society has been tested in practice and socialism confirmed over tremendous expanses of the earth. Hundreds of millions of people are traversing the path of the creation of Communist civilization. The anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples has risen to a new and higher level. Tens and hundreds of millions of people participate actively in this struggle. In the 1970's many peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America carried out victorious liberating revolutions. Laos, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, Zimbabwe and other countries have firmly started down a new path of development. The Non-Aligned Movement has acquired great international importance. All of these phenomena are of great historic significance. They are indicative of the inclusion of new generations of the peoples of the former colonial and dependent countries in a



policy which corresponds to the main direction of human development on the path to socialism and Communism.

In recent decades a number of new forms of mass social protest arose: The environmental protection movement; youth movements; and the actions of all manner of religious, pacifist and other social organizations. This is also an expression of the politization of broad strata of the population, a population most varied in social composition and ideological purposes.

In modern conditions a most acute new problem arose, which only all mankind as a whole is capable of solving. This is the problem of preserving life on earth; the problem of survival. The threat of a third world war arose, in the fires of which all world civilization may perish. "This is the crying contradiction with which mankind has come to the threshold of the 21st Century," the CPSU Program emphasizes.

It is entirely natural that it is precisely this problem which has become most important in modern world politics. Being in its fundamental sense a general human problem, the struggle for peace, nevertheless, also has a vividly expressed political (class) nature, since it reflects the fundamental difference in assessment of the problems of war and peace by various social forces. On one side is the most reactionary, militaristic and aggressive group of international financial capital, especially the U. S. military-industrial complex; on the other side are all the progressive forces of mankind, most of all socialism and the international workers and national liberation movements. In view of the global danger of thermal nuclear catastrophe, the struggle to prevent it is objectively directed against the policy of reactionary imperialist circles, and flows into the overall stream of the struggle for peace and social progress. One can, in particular, point to ever more interlacing and uniting of the two main aspects of the historic mission of the proletariat -- the builder of socialism and protector of life on earth. "The development of the world revolutionary process and the rise of mass democratic and anti-war movements," it is emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th Party Congress, significantly expanded and strengthened the tremendous potential for peace, reason and good will. This is a powerful counterweight to the aggressive policy of imperialism."

Back on the outset of the workers movement, 150 years ago, documents of the Chartist Movement emphasized that war is the worst enemy of the working class, for it brings it only tremendous calamities and suffering. The struggle against war for the workers is always inseparable from defense of the social rights of working people. This simple and great thought was formulated with particular clarity by Marx in 1864. In order to restructure international life, wrote Marx, it is necessary for the working class "itself to possess the secrets of international politics..., and to seek to have the simple laws of morality and justice become the highest laws in relations among peoples. The struggle for such a foreign policy constitutes a part of the overall struggle for the liberation of the working class (K. Marx, F. Engels, "Sochineniya" [Works], Volume 16, p 11).

Today this aspect of the overall struggle of the working class has become paramount and vitally necessary not only for working people, but also in

general for all healthy and intelligent forces of mankind, regardless of their social origin, ideological views or positions in society. In the CPSU Program it is emphasized in connection with this that there is no fatal inevitability of world war. Moreover, there have never been such real opportunities for preserving and strengthening peace, since the capability of the peace forces has grown immeasurably and the role of truly mass, popular movements against the threat of nuclear destruction has increased.

In some circles in the non-socialist countries (even very liberal and progressive circles) there is a widespread opinion that under modern conditions serious political decisions depend exclusively on the highest state figures. From this the conclusion is drawn that no matter what the desire of simple people, their interests and demands are most often ignored. And as this is so, they say, participation in the political processes and striving to influence the course of events makes no sense. The people can merely hope that the governments themselves will choose intelligent actions. Not independent and active participation of the masses in global politics, but passive adaptation to the policy of the authorities and to the circumstances -- such is the meaning of such opinions.

It would be an error to underestimate the role of governments, especially of the major powers, in deciding the fate of the modern world. However, one must also not belittle or ignore the growing importance of mass actions of a political nature. "Human thinking," emphasized M. S. Gorbachev at a meeting with (B. Laun), the American co-chairman of the international movement of Doctors of the World for the Prevention of Nuclear War, "is not always able to grasp changes of a historic scale in time. This is a serious shortcoming and is especially dangerous now, when the threat of nuclear annihilation has come right to every home and each family. In our day the voice of the peoples and their social organizations in the defense of peace is taking on ever more importance. This is an expression of a kind of instinct of human self preservation."

Under modern conditions the participation of the broad masses in world politics has become an important factor in the social development of mankind. Representatives of the most varied classes and most conflicting political tendencies have found themselves together in the same ranks. Today's crisis in international relations, caused by the real danger of nuclear war, served as the reason for this. Imperialist ideologues claim that actions by peace advocates are "inspired" by the Soviet Union. But, in fact, they have objective causes, most of all the danger which the aggressive policy of imperialism brings mankind. The CPSU Program indicates that the anti-war movements of the broadest popular masses on all continents have become a "long-term and influential factor in social life."

In this movement, considering its varied social composition, there exist, of course, different views on the reasons for the exacerbation of international tension and on ways to prevent military conflict. Nevertheless, tendencies toward strengthening united actions and increasing the role of the proletariat in the struggle for peace are obvious.

An advance in mass consciousness takes place gradually. It is expressed, in particular, in that the slogans of the defenders of peace are more and more often interlaced with the social demands of the workers. Step by step the international cohesiveness of anti-war forces is being strengthened and gradually conditions are ripening for the creation of a worldwide unified anti-war front. Both of these circumstances are of fundamental importance. Let us recall that the 7th Comintern Congress back in 1935 advanced the slogan of a unified anti-war front. Today this slogan is topical as never before. For the International Workers Movement cohesion in the struggle for peace has special meaning also because it helps to overcome its split and open the path to solidarity of the proletariat of all countries and continents.

Lenin noted in fall 1914, "The European and World War has a vividly defined nature of a bourgeois, imperialist and dynastic war. The struggle for markets and plunder of foreign countries; the desire to cut off the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and democrats within countries; the desire to make fools of, separate and slaughter the proletariat of all countries and set the hired slaves of one nation against the hired slaves of another to benefit the bourgeoisie -- such is the only real substance and meaning of the war" (Volume 26, p 1). In this assessment, Lenin's statement about the aims which the imperialist war pursued with respect to the workers' movement is taking on particular importance: "Make fools of" the masses, "separate and slaughter the proletariat of all countries," and in the final analysis once and for all "cut down" the revolutionary movement. As is known, fascism also pursued this same objective, striving during World War II to destroy socialism and establish a "new order" throughout the world. Facts indicate that today's advocates of nuclear war, no matter with what slogans they cover themselves, have similar aims and are attempting to implement social revanchism on the widest front.

Undoubtedly, under modern conditions the anti-war movement has become immeasurably more massive and offensive by comparison with past decades. This became possible largely due to the many years of selfless struggle by the working class and communists. It is namely they who were the initiators of the anti-war movement during the years of the "Cold War." Communists persistently carried out and today carry out active actions in the defense of peace and security of the peoples and work among the masses, arousing them to decisive protests against imperialist policy. This is a great historic service of the communist movement.

The organized movement of peace advocates, as is known, first originated in the late 1940's and early 1950's, when the peace movement became massive in the European countries. Everywhere there took place marches, conferences and other measures in defense of peace. So began the first stage in the peace movement.

The international working class, the socialist countries, communist parties, progressive trade unions and mass democratic organizations waged a stubborn struggle for detente and the creation of a new political climate in international relations. This struggle was crowned in the 1975 signing in Helsinki of the Agreement on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This was a mighty success of all peace loving and democratic forces. The consistently



peace loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries played a tremendous role in mobilizing public opinion in favor of peaceful coexistence. It is precisely with this policy and the might of socialism that the world's peoples link their hopes that nuclear war will not be unleashed.

The results of the Soviet-American Summit Meeting in Geneva represent for mankind an opportunity for normalization of the international environment. To let that opportunity go by, as political and public figures of many countries stress, would be a fatal mistake. Rejection of the senseless plans for militarization of space and prohibiting nuclear tests, which would in fact immobilize advances in nuclear weapons, should be the initial steps toward halting the arms race and in the end to disarmament. As for the Soviet Union, its policy is clear and consistent. Our country is ready to shift from confrontation to cooperation.

"Cooperation, Not Confrontation!" The mass democratic movements, which are deeply concerned about the destiny of human civilization, also act under this slogan. Some Western ideologues assume that the main reason for the worldwide anti-war protest is fear in the face of the threat of nuclear annihilation. But, of course, it is not correct to explain the unprecedented scale of the anti-war movement by this alone. Fear paralyzes will, and we see a strengthening of the will of the masses to struggle to prevent war. Not animal fear, but alarm for the future; responsibility for the fate of the world; traditions of anti-war resistance and faith in the real opportunity to save peace -- this is what moves the masses today.

Even the most war-like and militaristic circles and the most inveterate reactionaries must to some extent reckon with this tremendous force, by trying to "placate" or at least neutralize the anti-war movement. In many cases, cruel repressions against peace advocates are undertaken in the countries of Western Europe, the U. S. and Japan, and intimidation and threats are used. But these actions are turning out to be less and less effective.

The anti-war movement of the masses at the present period has several special features.

Let us point out, first of all, the massive and largely spontaneous, even more than this, the largely emotional nature of actions in defense of peace; the social, political and ideological pluralism of the anti-war movement and, as a result, the lack of a unified and universally recognized leading center. To a certain extent we are talking about a stream of different movements, coinciding only in their most important aims -- protection of life on earth -- but having different political views in assessing the causes of the crisis and ways to escape it.

An important feature of the present stage of the anti-war struggle is, further, its world-wide scale, although, of course, each country has its specifics.

During World War I, as is known, at first there was no mass anti-war protest at all. Moreover, the popular masses largely turned out to have been infected by chauvinistic propaganda. This was also expressed in the policy of the

parties of the Second International, which broke up permanently as a result of chauvinism. Only on the eve of World War II, due to communist activity and the proper course taken by the 7th Comintern Congress, did the anti-war movement for the first time become massive and organized. Now a new line has been achieved: Anti-war actions have become truly worldwide in scale.

During the struggle against the military danger, a new hierarchy of values is being created and new thinking is taking shape on the problems of the present and future lives of society, social progress, democracy, morality, etc. This is becoming exceptionally important, since it largely predetermines political behavior. Within the movement itself, of course, far from everything is yet settled, and a continuous regrouping of forces, change of slogans, and search for forms and methods of struggle goes on. Serious contradictions also exist, and an ideological and political struggle continues among different trends, but objectively all these trends one way or another defend one idea -- the idea of preventing a nuclear catastrophe. This creates the prerequisite for the further drawing together of points of view and unity of actions.

In the struggle for peace, the social (political) and the psychological (moral) are closely interlaced and present themselves as human sensory activity (See Marx and Engels, "Works," Volume 3, p 1). A. I. Gertsen, assessing social psychology, astutely noted: "The masses are filled with secret inclinations, filled with prevent impulses; their thinking has not become separated from fantasy; for them it does not remain theory as it does for us, for them it immediately is transferred into action..." (A. I. Gertsen, "Izbrannyye filosofskiye proizvedeniya" [Selected Philosophical Works] (Volume 2, Moscow, 1946, p 60). The daily mass actions in the defense of peace vividly confirm this law.

Thus far, spontaneity and this process is dominant, but this is far from equivalent to lack of consciousness or disorganization. Spontaneity signifies merely the lack of an overall coordination of the movements and the absence of a unified and clear program of actions, although each specific action is organized and frequently very well organized. Vital experience is gradually developing in the masses not only an emotional attitude toward the threat of war, but it is also, step by step, forming a new political consciousness. It is about precisely this kind of processes that Lenin wrote when he noted that the "spontaneous element" represents essentially nothing other than a rudimentary form of consciousness" (Volume 6, pp 29-30).

The attitude taken toward the problem of peace under conditions of possible global suicide serves as the main criterion of the moral and political self consciousness of each person, party, government and state. Serious alarm, and not pretense, about the fate of the human race and a true desire to help through deeds to reduce the military threat is not the only, but is indisputably a necessary index of a high level of political responsibility and humanism in our time. Ideological differences, mutual claims and critical assessments must not interfere with the strengthening of political trust and respect toward one another by the advocates of peace for the sake of achieving the highest overall objective -- halting the nuclear arms race; preventing the deployment of strike weapons in space and preserving human civilization. "Today as never before it is important," emphasizes the CPSU Central Committee

Political Report to the 27th Party Congress, "to find a way to cooperate more closely and productively with the governments, parties, social organizations and movements which are truly concerned about the fate of peace on earth, and with all peoples, for the sake of creating an all encompassing system of international security."

Two politically distinct mass forces, communists and pacifists, are now as before carrying out in parallel, most fully and energetically, their peace making mission. On the political plane they are acting (or should act) as natural allies, although in the sphere of ideology and world outlook there has been and remains between them as certain "zone of alienation." However, in the most important and basic matter, the positions of communists and pacifists do not diverge. Both, although for different reasons, place first in the hierarchy of values the life of man itself, his happiness and flourishing, and his peaceful labor. Lenin and the Bolsheviks in conducting an ideological polemic with pacifism, always acknowledged its important role, especially that of its mass forms, and actively favored a businesslike cooperation with pacifists for the sake of peace.

Pacifism is a complex and contradictory social and ideological phenomenon. Advocates of pacifism take positions of moral condemnation of any armed conflict which entails human casualties, even including the just, liberation struggle. They do not disclose the class nature of wars or their causes. Lenin also perceived manifestations of pacifism in the policy of the bourgeois "upper strata," which opposed militarism under particular specific historical conditions; in the anti-war slogans of certain social democrats and other petty-bourgeois parties; and in spontaneous mass movements, which were striving for peace and were thereby awakened to politics.

Unfortunately, Lenin's dialectical assessment of pacifism in the 20th Century was interpreted for many years in the Comintern in a "left-communist" spirit. Only the critical side was taken for the foundation and any possibility for compromise between communist and pacifist movements was thrown away, often out of the most honorable and noble convictions of "accelerating world revolution," not "making fools of" the masses by all manner of peace loving words which give rise to passivity; hope in the moral re-education of the bourgeoisie, etc. This line was carried out almost until the 7th Comintern Congress (1935), when finally Lenin's assessment of the various forms of pacifism was restored and a policy was undertaken of creating a unified world anti-war front.

Today the problem of developing cooperative relations between communists and pacifists is continuing to be very difficult, at times even painful. Unfortunately, substantial pacifist circles had a biased attitude toward real socialism and the communist movement, and start from the thesis of the "equal responsibility" of the USSR and U. S. for the increased threat of nuclear war. The circles accuse communists of all sorts of mortal sins and refuse to cooperate with them. Some would even like unilateral USSR disarmament, demanding that we refuse to fulfill our international duty to the peoples struggling for social progress. Right pacifists see some sort of manifestation of "Soviet hegemonism" and USSR expansion in the internationalist foreign policy of the CPSU. Such erroneous views, naturally,



retard cooperation among communists and pacifists. But success in the struggle against war cannot be expected without the cooperation of different forces and movements.

A special feature of the current situation is that today the question of the nature and consequences of war is fundamentally different than before. Nuclear weapons, if employed, are capable of leading mankind to its death. In connection with this, the struggle for peace is taking on new importance, for it is the only means of preserving life on earth. This also forces us to take a new look at the problem of cooperation among communists and pacifists. History is a great school, and it teaches that if pacifists and communists find a common language, and if all peace loving forces act in a united front, war can be prevented.

To increase the political activeness of the broadest masses and raise them to worldwide struggle in defense of life on earth is the main requirement of our time. "Having united their efforts," it states in the CPSU Program, "the peoples can and shall ward off the threat of nuclear destruction." When it comes to the struggle for peace and disarmament, communists are ready for any dialogue, any negotiations and any joint actions. Communists and workers parties, as has been repeatedly emphasized in their documents, consider dialogue and joint actions with socialists, social democrats, Christians, people of other faiths and all peace advocates to be an integral part of the struggle for democracy and social progress. Of course, achieving cooperation is a complex process. On some questions different trends in the anti-war movement diverge at times more than they agree. The CPSU is convinced that these disagreements, no matter how profound they seem to be, are much less important than the desire to prevent thermal nuclear catastrophe. All leftist, democratic and pacifist forces can and must act today more harmoniously and amicably for the sake of saving life on earth. This is the command of our time, the command of the human conscience.

Today, mankind possesses a tremendous potential for peace, multi-faceted experience, and a broad historical and social field of vision, in order to understand precisely where the policy of aggression can lead. This draws peace loving forces into ever closer cohesion, increases the activeness of the anti-war and anti-nuclear movements, and arouses ever newer forces for the struggle against the threat of war.

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

BLACK MARKETEERING BY FOREIGN STUDENTS IN LENINGRAD

Leningrad VECHERNIY LENINGRAD in Russian 6 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by Ye. Vistunov: "I Have Realized My Guilt, I Repent. . . ."]

[Text] Before me lies a pile of letters with the same return address: India, state: Bihar, city: Bokaro. And with the same name of the sender: Adzhay Kumar. They are written in Russian, in language that is typical for a foreigner who has not fully mastered the language and phrases and that contains simple grammatical errors.

These letters are addressed to the office of the dean in charge of work with foreign students of the Leningrad Polytechnical Institute imeni M. I. Kalinin, but because of some circumstances I have the right to consider them to be a response to my article "'Businessmen' Suffer Failure", published on 16 November 1984 in VECHERNIY LENINGRAD. I shall recall briefly what was discussed in it and what relationship it has to the letters from far-away India by the former student of the Polytechnical Institute, Adzhay Kumar.

Every year hundreds of thousands of foreign guests come to the USSR. Among them are quite a few students who study at Soviet VUZ's and other educational institutions. The envoys of the most diverse countries, they are granted all the possibilities for mastering knowledge in order for them to become highly-qualified specialists and in their homeland to replenish the ranks of the scientific-technical intelligentsia.

The absolute majority of students studying in the VUZ's of Leningrad make full use of these possibilities and are filled with a feeling of gratitude to the government of the USSR for the unselfish assistance in the training of young specialists for other countries, to its university and institute instructors generously giving them of their strength and knowledge, and to their fellow students, who accepted them with open hearts into their student family.

The absolute majority, but, very regrettably, no all. In the article "'Businessmen' Suffer Failure", a number of sad stories were cited of the belated understanding, by foreign students, of the irreconcilability of their scornful attitude toward Soviet laws with their further stay in the Soviet Union. In particular, there was a detailed treatment of the institution of criminal proceedings against the citizens of the Republic of Guinea, the former students of Leningrad University, Ibraim Tall and Abassi Silla, for the contraband

importation of goods on a large scale, speculation with these goods, and the violations of the rules on currency operations. Both the investigation and the court presented exhaustive proof of the guilt of the defendants. Tall and Sulla deliberately embarked upon the most flagrant violation of the laws of the country which hospitably opened the doors of one of the best university to them, on their own initiative entered into a criminal compact with the conductors of an international [railway] car, and with their help in a contraband fashion imported goods into the USSR, having received a profit of more than 20,000 rubles in so doing.

During the preliminary investigation, they conducted themselves insincerely and tried to muddle up the traces of their crime. And only in the courtroom did the insight suddenly come to them: They admitted their guilt.

Law is law. And it only then has authority and serves the interests of all of society when it reliably protects every citizen and holds him strictly responsible. This unshakeable norm fully extends also to the citizens of any other country, who are staying temporarily in the territory of the Soviet Union. The "businessmen"--smugglers Tall and Sulla were sentenced to deprivation of freedom and confiscation of property--that is the severe, but just price of their payment for what they had committed.

And a year prior to the arrest of Tall and Sulla, Adzhay Kumar, the student from India, was expelled from the Polytechnical Institute, who had also been engaged in speculation with contraband goods--stereo equipment and pornographic films. They talked with him about this subject matter in the dean's office, and the law enforcement organs warned him about his responsibility. Adzhay Kumar at that time did not heed these just claims and continued secret speculative transactions. This dangerous and shaky path ended for him in his being sent back to his homeland ahead of schedule.

During the days when the article "'Businessmen' Suffer Failure" was published in the newspaper, he was in Leningrad--he came to ask forgiveness in the Institute for his thoughtlessness. He read the article and understood that, being a student of the Polytechnical Institute, he fully deserved no less a sentence for his unworthy conduct. And he invited himself to a meeting with me as the author of the article.

His penitential letters to the dean's office, which were sent already after our conversation, convinced me that Adzhay Kumar deeply realized his guilt and that his dismissal from the Soviet VUZ is a tragic experience for him. A tragic experience not only for him, but also for all of his relatives and his father Kharakhar Prasad, who also addressed a petition to the dean's office about the reinstatement of his son in the Institute. At the request of Adzhay Kumar, I am citing a declaration which he made in the newspaper at the time of our meeting:

"When I was dismissed from the Institute, I did not at once realize the full unattractiveness of my conduct. My fellow-countrymen, who studied with me at the Polytechnical Institute, of course, condemned me, but in their condemnation there was, perhaps, more sympathy. At home in my homeland I encountered a completely different attitude. My father, mother, and four grown-up brothers and



sisters perceived my early return as a disgrace and misfortune. Their opinion was identical: I did not justify their hopes, I and only I am responsible for what happened to me.

With great difficulty I found temporary work at a private enterprise for electrical installation. None of its workers and engineers had been in Leningrad, and when I told them about its architectural monuments, museums, and about the Institute, where I studied in the department of electromechanics, they asked me most often one and the same question: "But why did you return from such a fine city without a diploma in engineering?"

I was ashamed to confess, I fell silent, and I promised myself not to talk about Leningrad anymore. But the rumor that I studied there and for some reason did not complete my studies nevertheless spread. People came up to me and, sometimes tactfully, but most often in plain terms asked me about this. And when I told them, they looked at me as at a person who voluntarily, of his own will, took a bath in a dirty puddle.

That kind of attitude of my relatives and acquaintances at work compelled me to look at myself, as it were, from the side, in a new way, and to assess what I had lost in Leningrad because of my thoughtlessness with different eyes and feelings. I had excellent prospects of becoming a highly-skilled engineer--I myself crossed them out. I had fine teachers, who did not regret time or effort in order to give me not only knowledge, but also to cultivate in me creative principles, a research-oriented approach to science, and the culture of the human community. Of all of this I was also deprived because of my own fault. . . .

The time came when it simply became difficult for me to live because of these thoughts. Thanks to my father and all my relatives. They collected money for the trip and told me: "We see how you are being tormented by your conscience, go to Leningrad, ask for forgiveness for all the bad things you have done."

I sincerely declare: I have realized my guilt, I repent, and I give my word that through my exemplary conduct and attitude toward my studies I will return the trust which I was shown when I enrolled in the Leningrad Polytechnical Institute. I will be happy if the administration of the VUZ and the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary [as published] Education will consider it possible to forgive me. . . ."

Our meeting comes to an end. I close my notebook, saying good-bye to Adzhay Kumar, and I see in his sad eyes the unspoken question: "But you believe me?"

To be honest, at the time, during the meeting, I could not answer this question unequivocally. Perhaps because the impressions from the trial of the unlucky "businessmen"--smugglers, which had just been held, were still too fresh in my mind--the "businessmen"--smugglers, who even in the dock repented not very sincerely, as it seemed to me.

I read the letters of Adzhay Kumar over and over again, recalling our short meeting, and I catch myself thinking that now I think differently. The bitter lesson was to his advantage.

18 July 1986

## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

## TIKHOVINSKIY INTERVIEWED ON 1986 EDITION OF DIPLOMATIC HERALD

Moscow KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 12, 21 Mar 86

[Interview with Academician S. L. Tikhvinskiy by A. Shakhmatov, correspondent of KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE, on the occasion of the publication of the 1986 edition of DIPLOMATICHESKIY VESTNIK: "Herald of the Policy of Peace"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Four issues of DIPLOMATICHESKIY VESTNIK, the last one of which was published on the eve of the 27th CPSU Congress, have become the property of the public. It is prepared by scholars of the Diplomatic Academy of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and published by MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA. The editor-in-chief is the rector of the academy, Academician S. L. Tikhvinskiy, the chairman of the National Committee of Historians of the USSR. Our correspondent met with Sergey Leonidovich and ask him to reply to a number of questions.

[Question] Our readers are interested in the idea behind the creation of the DIPLOMATICHESKIY VESTNIK, its goals and tasks.

[Answer] At the present time, in the conditions of the unprecedented aggravation of the struggle of the two world social systems, the growth of the aggressiveness of imperialism, and the threat of the militarization of space, the propagation of the Leninist foreign policy pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet state, the explanation, to the broad public, of the danger of the arms race unleashed by the reactionary circles of the United States and NATO, and the very serious consequences of their actions for international politics and for life itself on our planet acquire especially important significance.

It is precisely for this reason that DIPLOMATICHESKIY VESTNIK began to appear. In an address "To the Reader", which A. A. Gromyko wrote for the first issue, it was noted that the publication was begun "for the purpose of the systematic illumination of the consistent and purposeful activity of the Communist Party and the Soviet state aimed at the realization of the Program of Peace for the 1980's and the analysis of the most important problems of contemporary international life from Marxist positions."

The 27th CPSU Congress emphasized that "the situation of the nuclear confrontation obliges to new approaches, methods and forms of interrelations between the

different social systems, states and regions." The exposure of these approaches, methods and forms becomes the paramount task of our publication.

The four books that have appeared represent a distinctive chronicle of the foreign policy activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state. Each one of them is distinguished by a comprehensive approach to the analysis of the contemporary political situation and diplomatic activity, preserving the continuity in their illumination.

[Question] Could you not tell us about the content of the new issue?

[Answer] The fourth issue of *DIPLOMATICHESKIY VESTNIK* opens with the articles "On the Course of Peace and Progress: Soviet Foreign Policy in 1985" and "Under the Banner of the Great Victory", which talk about the fact that the USSR sees the chief point of its activity in the world arena in not allowing a repetition of the tragedy of war and all the more so a nuclear tragedy.

The part "The Foreign Policy and Diplomacy of the USSR" contains rich material. On the basis of concrete examples, it reveals the struggle of our country for peace. A great deal of attention is given to questions of the further intensification of the mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the countries of socialism. A characterization of the relations of the USSR with the developing and capitalist states is also given.

Also of interest are the articles of V. Petrovskiy, doctor of history and member of the Soviet delegations in the last UN General Assemblies, "The Soviet Union in the United Nations," V. Israelyan, professor and the representative of the USSR in the Committee on Disarmament, "The Soviet Union in the Disarmament Negotiations in Geneva," and Yu. Rakhmaninov, member of the Soviet delegation at the negotiations in Stockholm, "The Spirit of Helsinki", etc.

Broad is the thematic spectrum of the articles which go into the part "Problems of Contemporary International Relations" and "Foreign Policy Conceptions and the Ideological Struggle". The reader finds out about what is new in the economic diplomacy of the 1980's, the norms of the conduct of the nuclear powers, about the efforts of the USSR in the matter of the solution of international disputes by peaceful means, about the contribution of the World Youth and World Student festivals to the development of contemporary international relations, and about the activity of the United Nations and UNESCO. Important are the studies by Yu. Kashlev, "For True Information and Against 'Psychological War'", and by M. Makurina, "The United States Information Agency (USIA)--An Instrument of the 'Psychological War' of Imperialism".

Fascinating and instructive, in my view, are the memoirs of the well-known diplomats G. Barulin, "In Liberated Hungary--About the First Postwar Years," A. Voronin, "Years of Diplomatic Work in the Countries of the East"--about Iran, Turkey and Jordan, and L. Kutakov, "Japan at the Frontier of the 1960's".

Much useful information is contained in the communication "At the Advanced Frontier of the Science of International Relations".



[Question] In conclusion, about your plans. . . .

[Answer] At the present time the preparation of the next, the fifth issue of **DIPL0 MATICHESKIY VESTNIK** is underway. Its basic content is the active propagation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress in regard to questions of foreign policy and the illumination of the enterprising activity of the party in the international arena, the chief goal of which consists in securing for the Soviet people the possibility of working in conditions of stable peace and freedom. The articles reflect the central direction of the foreign policy of the USSR in the contemporary stage--the struggle for the realization of the program of the destruction of weapons of mass extermination and the prevention of a new world war, which was advanced in the Declaration of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, M. S. Gorbachev, of 15 January 1986.

The editorial board and the authors of **DIPLOMATICHESKIY VESTNIK** are striving for the articles to have a problem-oriented character, to be distinguished by the popularity of exposition, and to contain well-argued answers to the most urgent questions posed by the political life of the planet and by the diplomatic relations of the USSR with the states of the world. Plans call for the expansion of the publication of the memoirs of prominent Soviet diplomats. Everything is being done so that our publication meets with interest not only on the part of specialists in international affairs, but also the general reading public.

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## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

### CEMA: DEVELOPMENT OF DIRECT TIES

Moscow EKONOMICHESKIYE NAUKI in Russian No 3, Mar 86 pp 52-59

[Article by G. Abolikhina and O. Bakovetskiy, candidates of economic sciences]

[Text] The countries of the socialist commonwealth have been pursuing the course of intensification of socialist economic integration. It is a strong accelerator for developing the economies of the socialist states. The socialist states are together solving the key problems of the present stage of development of the socialist economy and are accomplishing the transition of social production to the predominantly intensive development strategy on the basis of application of the most recent advances of the scientific-technical revolution. The Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries up to the Year 2000, a document of outstanding importance adopted by the 41st (Extraordinary) Meeting of the Session of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance, has become most convincing evidence of this course.

In the process of socialist economic integration as the material basis of closer association of the socialist countries advantage is being taken of the virtues of the division of labor among the socialist countries. Integration finds its physical embodiment in the large-scale measures in industrial production, in the agroindustrial complex, in the scientific-technical sphere, in the construction of national economic projects, in the performance of multi-lateral and bilateral agreements on scientific-production cooperation, and so on. The CPSU points out that the development of economic integration is expected to facilitate to a growing degree progress of social production and the socialist way of life in the countries of the commonwealth, acceleration of the process of equalization of their levels of economic development, and consolidation of the positions of socialism in the world.

The present (intensive) stage of integration is bound up with the development of new forms and methods of economic interaction of the CEMA member countries requiring that they coordinate economic policy. It makes it possible to define jointly the directions of economic development and cooperation over the long range and the pathways of /direct/ [in italics] interaction in science, technology, industry, and capital construction.<sup>1</sup>

Working out a coordinated economic policy of the countries of the socialist commonwealth contributes to utilizing the capabilities of intensification of the economy that are embodied in coordinated use of scientific-production potential and acceleration of the formation of international cooperation of labor, which is a mighty factor for increasing the efficiency of social production.

As cooperation among the CEMA member countries becomes more intensive, direct and immediate scientific-production interaction of the national enterprises and associations, above all through cooperation, has been taking on ever greater importance. The way in which and the scale on which the possibilities for intensification of the mutual cooperation of the socialist countries are utilized depend in fact on the conditions for reproduction that exist in this area. In defining the pathways for carrying out the Comprehensive Program of the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries up to the Year 2000, the CEMA session pointed out at its 41st (extraordinary) meeting: "The CEMA member countries will develop direct relations between enterprises, associations, and scientific-technical organizations of the countries on the basis of the principles adopted in specific bilateral and multilateral agreements and treaties, which is an effective way of developing cooperation to carry out the program."<sup>2</sup> This kind of interaction is an inherent feature of integration, since in the context of intensification of integration it becomes practically impossible to solve the problems of further deepening of cooperation exclusively at the intergovernmental level without the direct and reasonable involvement of the sectors, associations, and enterprises in this process. The growing volume of integrative projects requires that many of their problems be solved through direct interaction of the work collectives taking part in cooperation.

It has to be noted that the necessity of direct ties is also dictated by the general trends of world scientific-technical progress. The essence of these trends lies in the growing internationalization of production in the context of a deepening of the unit division of labor and the increasing frequency of international scientific-technical exchange under the impact of the scientific-technical revolution. All of this intensifies the interweaving of national economic structures with one another and promotes an actual interpenetration of production processes. It is clear that these worldwide trends are not, however, occurring in always the same social forms, but are assuming fundamentally different social forms conditioned by the existence in the world of two world systems--socialism and capitalism--which are polar opposites.

The decree of the USSR Council of Ministers entitled "On Measures To Create the Necessary Conditions for Development of International Intrasector Industrial and Scientific-Production Cooperation and To Improve Direct Ties Between Ministries, Departments, Associations, Enterprises, and Organizations of the USSR and the Other CEMA Countries" (June 1984) has been playing a large role in shaping the organizational, planning, and cost-accounting (khozraschet) prerequisite for development of direct ties between the entities of our country and of the fraternal states of the socialist economy engaged in economic activity. That document envisages specific steps to set up effective cooperation of USSR ministries, associations, and enterprises with the corresponding



organizations of the other countries of the commonwealth, the development of direct ties between them, the deepening of international cooperation, and acceleration of the application of progressive scientific-technical achievements.<sup>3</sup> In the process of implementing these decisions efforts are being undertaken to increase the motivation and stimulate the initiative of enterprise collectives to develop international cooperation. The interaction between industry and foreign trade is undergoing improvement. Foreign trade associations that will service the cooperative ties have been designated for each sector. Within the limits of certain amounts agreed on with the foreign trading partners, enterprises have been granted the right to exchange with them samples of products, individual assemblies, and parts and to provide urgent design and production services.

At the same time the present level of economic development and of scientific-technical progress require further improvement of the joint use of physical and scientific resources and valuable know-how and the development of new forms of interaction between enterprises and associations of the countries of the socialist commonwealth. The tasks involved in further expansion of the participation of Soviet enterprises in cooperation and the related tasks involved in expanding their rights and increasing their responsibility in foreign economic activity and the more active stimulation of work collectives, associations, and sectors in increasing production for export (as noted at the conference in the CPSU Central Committee in June 1985 concerning the questions of speeding up scientific-technical progress), have become urgent.<sup>4</sup>

The entire set of relations related to direct ties includes a broad range of the most diverse forms and methods of direct interaction, embracing both economic and scientific-technical contacts between the countries and also noneconomic--social and cultural--contacts between them. Experience shows that the term "direct ties" extends both to the foreign economic activity of the departments which act as intermediaries for economic organizations in production and technical cooperation as well as to contacts between the latter and at the same time to a broad range of relations involved in noneconomic, social forms of direct cooperation of various kinds between entities of the socialist states.

When we speak about direct ties in their production and scientific-production aspects, they obviously come down to varied (in their breadth and depth) forms of contacts between producers of goods and services, developers of new pieces of equipment and technology in the socialist countries bound together by the integrative relations. Here the direct ties in the domain of scientific-production cooperation between production associations, enterprises, and scientific-technical organizations of the CEMA member countries are the pivot for the entire system of relations of direct cooperation in the socialist commonwealth, the pivot which determines integrative processes at the sector level and within the limits of enterprises and associations.<sup>5</sup> Direct ties are the form which is most appropriate to scientific-production cooperation in the context of intensive development of the socialist process of integration; their principal function is to guarantee the direct collaboration of the partners over the entire cycle of reproduction on the basis of constant interaction in all the links of that chain.

Direct contacts between partners in industrial cooperation are an effective method of solving the urgent problem of intensification of the economic development of the CEMA member countries--of speeding up application of the advances of scientific-technical progress. It is obviously toward solving this problem that all the forms of direct interaction of national production and scientific-production entities should be oriented.

As defined by the MIEP MSS, direct cooperative ties constitute a method of organizing and managing scientific-production cooperation (intrasector above all) at the level of organizations directly engaged in economic activity. Their characteristic feature is /direct unification of scientific-production and commercial activity of enterprises and organizations in order to carry out a unified production program and to achieve technical improvement of the product, to develop new techniques and technology jointly, and to collaborate in the field of selling the product produced through cooperation and servicing it following the sale/ [in italics].

Direct ties create the conditions for ensuring reliability, flexibility, and responsiveness of the collaboration involved in industrial cooperation. Direct contacts of enterprises and associations have decisive importance to transforming the obligations of an international legal nature into intranational assignments to the specific entities which carry out the cooperative agreements--the associations and enterprises. Direct interaction with foreign partners in drafting plans and specific production measures by enterprises and associations increases the reliability of intergovernmental agreements on industrial cooperation and becomes an organic element of them.

It is important to emphasize at this point that the significance of reliability is increasing not only because of the increasing volume of mutual deliveries, but also in connection with the change in their quality. Deliveries involved in industrial cooperation, even when they are small in volume, can have an important impact on the production operation if delivery of large lots of the end product depends on them. The regularity of deliveries has great importance. The partners in industrial cooperation need to obtain the necessary components of the product not only in the full stipulated volume, but also on time, in conformity with the production schedule called for by the technology.

Flexibility is an important requirement of industrial cooperation: When any essential changes are made in the technology the partners in industrial cooperation must immediately restructure the pattern of their mutual technological ties. In addition, when needs are changing rapidly, changes have to be made in the characteristics of the products the partners are delivering to one another, and stable relations between the producers and consumers of the product and setting up a system of servicing after the sale is made have considerable importance. Direct ties are also used in solving major scientific-production problems. The partners in industrial cooperation are able when necessary to rapidly restructure the system of cooperative relations. International industrial cooperation in the world socialist commonwealth was for a long time accomplished mainly at the government level through interaction only of national economic complexes. The socialist states were the only participants in that

kind of process of integration; entities engaged in economic activity did not take a direct part in cooperation between countries.

Even at the present time the paramount importance of organizing mutual economic ties among the socialist countries at the intergovernmental level has been altogether preserved. Moreover, recent years have been characterized by a very substantial improvement of the forms and methods of those mutual ties and of the coordination of the economic policy of the countries of the socialist commonwealth. The drafting of multilateral and bilateral long-range programs for mutual cooperation, which provide a planned basis for deepening socialist economic integration over the long term, is a real step forward in this direction. But the absence of fully developed forms of cooperation at lower levels of economic management places restriction on the possibilities for joint solution of specific production-technical problems under those conditions.

Joint planning activity sees the national economic complex as a whole as its object. It lacks a strong feedback connection with the individual economic processes that are based on it. If the opportunities for international socialization of socialist production afforded by cooperation at the macrolevel are to be fully transformed into reality, an appropriate economic mechanism needs to be developed both within the national framework and also on the international scale.

In the light of what we have said it is advisable to distinguish /two basic levels of direct cooperative relations/ [in italics], whose importance and content differ substantially in functional terms.

1. Above all, these are direct ties between sectoral bodies of management aimed at improving the management of economic cooperation within the sector. Such ties include coordinating scientific-technical policy in particular spheres and types of production operation, planning, solving problems of physical balances in industrial cooperation, and monitoring progress of production in the course of industrial cooperation. The actual production problems of industrial cooperation are not solved at this level, but rather we are dealing here essentially with the superstructure in the organization of direct cooperation among producers.

2. Direct production and scientific-production cooperation in the proper sense of the word is at the level of the producers and developers themselves. It results in joint creation of the products of labor on the basis of division of the production process. This variety of direct relations can be viewed as the direct scientific, technological, and economic interaction of scientific-production entities of the cooperating countries on behalf of joint development, production of particular products on the basis of industrial cooperation, their subsequent sale and organization of postproduction servicing.<sup>6</sup>

There has to be an optimum combination of these levels affording the same success in solving problems that come in the jurisdiction of enterprises as well as guaranteeing the balance of the entire economy, which can be achieved only through direct participation of the socialist state.<sup>7</sup>



The socialist countries have gained a certain amount of experience in developing direct ties.

To be specific, collectives of very large enterprises of the CEMA member countries have been involved in direct cooperation to create the most up-to-date products of the electrical equipment industry: the "Vasil Kolarov" Plant (Bulgaria), the "Ganz" Association (Hungary), the "Saxenwerke" Combine (GDR), the "Dol'mel'" Enterprise (Poland), the "Elektroputere" Enterprise (Romania), the "Elektrosila" Production Association (USSR), the "Shkoda" Concern (Czechoslovakia). Experience indicates the high economic benefit of this kind of cooperation.

Direct cooperative relations are developing with great effectiveness between the Odessa Production Association imeni Yanvarskeye Vosstaniye and the "Lambdy" Plant (Czechoslovakia) in production of cranes with a large load capacity; the Kharkov Tractor Plant and the tractor enterprise in the city of Karlovo (Bulgaria) in designing and putting into production the DT-54V tractor and its modifications; with the Czechoslovak "Shkoda" Enterprise and Soviet scientific and production organizations in manufacturing equipment for nuclear power plants and rolling equipment and the like.

Interaction of this kind makes it possible for those involved in industrial cooperation to coordinate their work better, to save time and resources on R&D projects, and to achieve high quality indicators. For example, the enterprises "Petkus" (GDR) and the production association "Voronezhzhernomash" (USSR) have exactly the same production configuration--they manufacture grain-cleaning machines and production lines. By unifying their efforts on the basis of direct ties they have created the KOS-05 grain-cleaning and drying line consisting of 15 machines. This line cuts labor inputs to one-fourth and affords a saving of approximately 150,000 rubles a year. In less than 3 years those same collectives have jointly created the highly efficient KOS-2 line as well, which is designed for cleaning and drying grass seed.

Direct ties between the "ChKD-Elektrotehnika" Plant (Czechoslovakia) and the Leningrad "Elektrosila" Production Enterprise helped Czechoslovak workers to put large air-cooled asynchronous motors into production and to use new insulating materials and systems. A joint scientific-technical council was created to coordinate the efforts of the enterprises.

The Ufa "Khimprom" Production Association and the chemical combine "Bitterfeld" (GDR) are conducting joint research on the production of herbicides, acids, chlorine, and caustic soda. "Khimprom" obtains information promptly on progressive technological solutions which have been found in the GDR and in turn conveys its own know-how. As a result the production of monochloroacetic acid has doubled, and at both enterprises continuous production of amine salts in high concentration has been introduced. This has reduced by 25-30 percent the need for containers and railroad cars.

Unified design offices consisting of specialists from different countries have also been working successfully. The technical documentation developed in those offices is then jointly applied in production. For instance, the GDR,

USSR, and Czechoslovakia set up a design office for manufacturing forging equipment and production lines of presses for sheet stamping. Cooperation within the framework of this international design office opened up new opportunities for speeding up scientific-technical progress in an important branch of machinebuilding. It became possible to build pressing equipment in the highest class equipped with automation equipment, so that its performance characteristics were doubled. To be specific, the Combine imeni G. Warnke (GDR) is manufacturing this equipment for the other socialist countries.

International cooperation helps to shorten the time required for creating the most diverse custom-made equipment. For example, a general agreement is being carried out successfully concerning cooperation between the Electric Welding Institute imeni Ye. Paton of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and the Institute for Technical Cybernetics and Robotics of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, which calls for unifying efforts in the research, development, building, testing, and application of robot "welders." This has resulted in creation of a most highly sophisticated robotized complex which is now being applied in production.

The experience already gained in developing direct ties between the countries of the socialist commonwealth has played quite an important role in the further development of their integrative cooperation and in adoption in this area of such important decisions as drafting the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries up to the Year 2000. This experience demonstrates that the more complicated the problem, the larger the arsenal of weapons that needs to be called upon for finding a solution. The reverse is also true: The more complete and comprehensive the collaboration, the more effective the results.

Cooperation between Soviet and Bulgarian machinebuilders in creating conveyor feed devices for automatic production lines is an example of this kind of comprehensive cooperation on the basis of direct ties. Joint design offices have been organized. Then dozens of Soviet and Bulgarian enterprises became involved in the effort. The result was the inception of a new direction in Bulgarian machinebuilding--the production of conveyor feed systems that surpass the relevant Western counterparts. The Soviet-Bulgarian automatic production lines created on assignment for KamAZ are now being used successfully in motor vehicle plants, agricultural machinebuilding enterprises, and other branches.

One of the examples of the high effectiveness of direct ties in industrial cooperation is the success achieved by the Moldavian "Floare" Association thanks to direct cooperation with enterprises of the GDR. "Floare" manufactures high-quality shoes whose production has been organized in direct industrial cooperation with the "Intra" Shoe Association (GDR). "Floare" also has a carpet production operation, again on the basis of cooperation with the GDR in the form of industrial cooperation. The result is wool carpets of high quality with the lowest production cost per square meter.

The Soviet-Czechoslovak scientific-technical association "Robot," created in 1985, has great promise. This is unquestionably an innovative form of cooperation. The sides will share equally in the economic benefits obtained. "Robot" possesses important rights and can take decisions concerning production

programs, orders, the volume of output, pricing, and participation in foreign economic activity.

Two Soviet-Bulgarian scientific-production associations have been created in machine tool building in which the participants on the Soviet side are such large enterprises as the Ivanovo Machinebuilding Production Association imeni 50-Letiye SSSR and the Moscow "Krasnyy Proletariy" Plant, and on the Bulgarian side the state economic association "Metal-Cutting Machine Tool Plants" (Sofia) and the "Beroye" Scientific-Production and Economic Combine for the manufacture of robots (Stara Zagora).

According to K. Marx, "...cooperation--above all means direct--not mediated by /exchange/--/interaction/ [in italics] of many workers to achieve one and the same result, to produce one and the same product, one and the same use value (or one and the same useful benefit)." <sup>8</sup> This kind of cooperation is obviously taking place now in the socialist countries within the limits of the individual national economies. In this case the results of work activity are being exchanged on the basis of a single plan, which also determines the value conditions of the exchange. In relations between socialist countries this kind of exchange would be possible only if there existed international property of the socialist states, since it is within the framework of that ownership that the real drafting of a single plan takes place, specifically within the limits of joint enterprises and firms of the socialist countries, in which direct relations give up their commodity character. Under the conditions of international industrial cooperation carried on by various owners on contract principles, the commodity form of direct interaction of producers of the CEMA member countries is objectively necessary.

Yet it would be a mistake to consider market relations, in which enterprises of different countries establish business contacts with one another only under the influence of domestic economic regulators applied by the government, the natural form of direct ties. It obviously is incorrect to detach direct ties from the national economic level. Direct international ties of individual economic entities in the context of socialist economic integration represents only one of the aspects of the interaction of the national-state complexes. /The planned guidance of direct ties between sectors, associations, enterprises, and economic organizations of the CEMA member countries must guarantee their development postulated upon the interests of the entire state, to which the interests of the individual departments, organizations, and enterprises are subordinated/ [in italics].

In the context of a planned socialist economy direct ties cannot be developed effectively without the requisite government control, and the joint planning activity of the socialist states is not replaced by free market ties of independent business organizations. <sup>9</sup> The more elaborate the interaction of the partners and the more comprehensive in nature the mutual ties of the socialist countries, the more manifestly the features of the single plan figure within the programs of international cooperation, and the more urgent is the need for joint planning of the conditions of exchange--in other words, of cost-accounting relations between socialist producers on an international scale.



Conditions more favorable to the development of cooperative interaction at the level of economic units are being shaped in most CEMA member countries in connection with the expanding economic independence and increased responsibility of enterprises, associations, and combines for the end results of their activity. But there are still a number of unresolved problems in this area. And the main thing is that the economic and organizational-and-legal mechanism that stimulates development of international cooperation within the framework of the commonwealth has not yet been built up.<sup>10</sup> Yet this is an extremely necessary job to be done, one that contains the root of a solution to many problems in intensifying mutual cooperation in general. Development of the mechanism we have been referring to can obviously be done on the basis of a summarization of the collective experience of the CEMA countries in a given sphere and by practical application of the best and most effective economic and legal levers, which must above all operate in the same direction.

Improving joint planning activity from the standpoint of developing direct ties in industrial cooperation must above all pertain to the content of coordinating the national economic plans of the CEMA member countries. In addition to the macroeconomic level, it should also embrace development of individual sectors, production operations, and the manufacturing of important types of products involved in industrial cooperation.

Cooperation in the form of industrial cooperation must in our view develop on the basis of business contracts that represent a synthesis of the work plan for cooperation and a foreign trade contract. In order to shorten as much as the time required for signing and performing such contracts, they need to be concluded according to a simplified procedure. These documents should envisage guarantees of performance of obligations assumed; the technical parameters of products involved in mutual deliveries on the basis of CEMA standards or progressive national standards; deadlines for deliveries and making up complete sets; the supply of replacement parts; the principal directions and dates for modernization of the product; the economic conditions of deliveries; and the liability of the parties for departures from the obligations assumed.

Conclusion of the contract establishes ongoing interaction of the national scientific and economic organizations concerning joint conduct of scientific research and project planning and design projects, application of their results in production, the manufacturing of products on the basis of distribution of the production program and exchange of the products, assemblies, parts, gear, various devices and instruments, and so on involved in industrial cooperation.

Experience shows that development of direct ties in industrial cooperation also needs a well-organized data base that makes it easier for enterprises to find partners for industrial cooperation. It is accordingly quite important to create specialized data banks for this set of problems (for example, on the most competitive progressive equipment and technology, on know-how in resource conservation, on selection of enterprises as partners in industrial cooperation, on study of market conditions, and so on) at the level of CEMA, but operating on a commercial basis. It would also be advisable to regularly exchange information on enterprises and organizations which have been extended

the right to engage in direct ties in the form of industrial cooperation and also to exchange experience in their development on a bilateral basis. International economic and scientific-technical organizations of the socialist states capable of acting as centers that would set up cooperative relations in particular production sectors could play an important role in this area.

Improvement of pricing of products involved in mutual deliveries on the basis of industrial cooperation has the greatest importance to development of direct ties in industrial cooperation. Prices must stimulate the partners to achieve a rise in the profitability of producing the product. Accordingly, it obviously would be worthwhile to study the possibilities of using negotiated prices set so as to take into account world prices, the production costs of the product involved in industrial cooperation, and the standard national indicators of production efficiency and exchange of the relevant products.

When production-economic units become involved in cooperation, opportunities are broadened for the partners to seek out mutually acceptable economic solutions, since the effectiveness of mutual ties can in this case be determined in the context of the economic conditions and incentives, rather than solely on the basis of world market prices. In scientific-production cooperation harmonization of the interests of the partners is objectively directed toward joint performance of a particular economic task by combining their separate potential. Different forms for establishment of contract prices are possible here: For example, "internal prices" within the limits of a given cooperative agreement, when the partners agree on these prices so as to take into account their respective production costs. The main thing obviously is that specific producers must have an opportunity to participate directly in determining the economic conditions of exchange. This would provide the cost accounting necessary to support the direct ties between economic organizations involved in industrial cooperation.

It is very important to the development of direct ties that exchange rates be improved. It would seem an urgent problem to create a straightforward system of economically sound relations between transfer rubles and the currencies of the CEMA member countries. Use of these relations is an indispensable condition for improving prices of products produced through industrial cooperation and for sound determination of the effectiveness of international cooperative ties. The official exchange rates now used are not performing these functions.

Stimulating enterprises and associations manufacturing products through industrial cooperation must be linked to their participation in carrying out the programs of cooperation agreed on. It is indispensable that their activity lead on the one hand to full performance of obligations assumed at the national economic level, and on the other to full utilization of the untapped potential for the development of industrial cooperation that has been revealed precisely at the microeconomic level.

Determined enhancement of discipline and responsibility of economic organizations for prompt fulfillment of obligations in industrial cooperation, along with strict adherence to requirements concerning product quality, is taking on particular importance to the development of international industrial cooperation. It would accordingly be very important to apply more rigid penalties in

practice for failure to perform agreements pertaining to industrial cooperation.

The motivation of national associations and enterprises to develop international industrial cooperation depends on their obtaining a certain benefit. That is why it would be very important to work out sound principles for determining the efficiency of industrial cooperation. It would seem that the economic effectiveness of measures related to international industrial cooperation could be determined in two stages. In the first stage it would be advisable to examine possible alternatives for organizing cooperation from the standpoint of the national economy of the countries (if possible, consideration would be given here to all the additional and indirect costs and benefits the national economy would obtain from the industrial cooperation project). In the second stage, which has to do with carrying out the variant of foreign economic cooperation that has been chosen, the benefits should be determined within specific associations and enterprises producing a product for export and operating on the principles of cost accounting. In order to link those results to standards and allowances and to the planned and reported indicators of associations and enterprises, accounts should be settled in prices actually in effect or planned prices.

Thus progress in development of direct interaction of economic organizations of the CEMA member countries in the form of industrial cooperation is obviously related in large degree to overall progress in improving the forms and instruments of mutual cooperation on the one hand and on the other to improvement of the systems for national economic management. Tapping the potential for intensification of industrial cooperation using direct ties, then, depends on creating the relevant domestic and international conditions which would promote involvement of national organizations in direct cooperation and on their higher motivation based on cost accounting, especially in cooperation that takes the form of industrial cooperation.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See "Ekonomicheskoye soveshchaniye stran-chlenov SEV na vysshem urovne 12-14 iyunya 1984 goda" [Summit Economic Conference of the CEMA Member Countries Held 12-14 June 1984], Moscow, 1984, p 20.
2. "Comprehensive Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries up to the Year 2000," PRAVDA, 10 December 1985, p 4.
3. SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY SOVETA MINISTROV SSSR, No 23, 1984, p 556.
4. M. S. Gorbachev, "Korennoy vopros ekonomicheskoy politiki partii. Doklada na soveshchaniy v TsK KPSS po voprosam uskoreniya nauchno-tekhnicheskogo progressa 11 iyunya 1985 goda" [A Fundamental Question in the Party's Economic Policy. Speech Delivered at the Conference in the CPSU Central Committee on the Problems of Speeding up Scientific-Technical Progress Held 11 June 1985], Moscow, 1985, p 16.



5. "The essence of direct production ties....," Yu. S. Shiryayev has noted, "lies in their functional purpose of promoting the direct unification of the production and scientific-technical efforts of the partners (above all the basic economic units) in the interests of solving common problems and of guaranteeing the most optimum sharing of responsibility among the central departments and the direct participants in international cooperation.... Industrial cooperation is the basic characteristic by which they are classified." (Yu. S. Shiryayev, "Mirovoye khozyaystvo: novyye tekhnologicheskiye i sotsial'no-ekonomicheskiye faktory razvitiya" [The World Economy: New Technological and Socioeconomic Factors of Development], Moscow, 1984, p 205)
6. For more detail on this, see O. Bakovetskiy and V. Grinev, "Razvitiye pryamykh proizvodstvennykh svyazey v sodruzhestve SEV" [Development of Direct Production Ties in the CEMA Commonwealth], Moscow, 1984, p 66.
7. We should note here that the opinion of the Hungarian economist K. Pechi, who distinguishes the two terms "direct" and "immediate" relations, is not beyond dispute. In his opinion production relations between enterprises which are mediated by ministries and departments are direct--a lower form of relations between enterprises of the various countries. The higher form of such relations according to that point of view are the immediate relations in which enterprises of different countries establish contacts with one another only under the influence of economic regulators (see FIDILO, No 56, 1982).
8. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], 2d edition, Vol 47, p 285.
9. On this, see O. Chukanov, "Integration as a Factor for Intensification of the Economy of the CEMA Countries," KOMMUNIST, No 17, 1982, p 11.
10. See Yu. S. Shiryayev, op. cit., p 208; VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, No 3, 1985, pp 103-112.

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## GENERAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

### IMPROVEMENT OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC TIES DISCUSSED

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[Article by Professor G. Shagalov, doctor of economic sciences: "Questions of Increasing the Effectiveness of Foreign Economic Ties"]

[Text] The Soviet Union is becoming more and more actively involved in the international division of labor, and is making increasing use of opportunities for socialist economic integration as the material basis for closer cohesion among socialist countries. As a result the influence of foreign economic ties on the rates and proportions of expanded socialist production is becoming stronger. At the present time practically all branches of the national economy of the USSR are directly or indirectly involved with the international economic turnover.

Foreign economic ties have great influence on the formation of interbranch and intrabrand proportions in the development of the national economy. A significant part of the production of the extraction sectors (iron and manganese ores, crude oil, metals; timber and lumber, and certain kinds of agricultural raw materials) and certain subsectors of the manufacturing industry as well (up to 25-30 percent of motor vehicles, 15 percent of the turbines, about 10 percent of the tractors, and so on) are directed to foreign markets. Imported supplies are indeed very significant in support of the country's investment resources, and in satisfying demand for consumer goods. About 10 percent of market funds for consumer goods is covered by means of imports.

Foreign economic ties represent a powerful lever in intensifying and increasing the effectiveness of social production. They radically expand the number of alternative variants for utilizing production resources and for satisfying national economic needs. Investing resources in the production of one kind of product manufactured at relatively low cost, the nation has, thanks to imports, the capability of acquiring other required goods of a completely different kind, the native manufacture of which would cost a great deal more than the exported goods. And this leads to reduction of national economic expenditures for satisfying the needs of society.

The draft of the Basic Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the Years 1986-1990 and for the Period up to the Year 2000 indicates the need for developing on a mutually-advantageous basis trade and economic, scientific-technical, and cultural ties with foreign countries. The advantages of international division of labor, especially among the countries of the socialist commonwealth, must be more fully utilized.

Increasing the effectiveness of the USSR's cooperation with foreign countries means first of all solving a complex of such major questions as expanding the country's export potential; determining the most expedient physical-material and geographic structure for foreign economic turnover, and the scale of development of certain forms of foreign economic cooperation; developing forms and methods for managing the foreign economic sector; and so on. All of this requires working out methods for analyzing the economic effectiveness of foreign economic ties, and introducing them in the practical work of planning and managing the national economy. Measures associated with the participation of the national economy of the USSR in the international division of labor must be based on an analysis of their economic effectiveness. Without this it is impossible to determine the best possible structure and the subjects for economic cooperation with foreign countries.

Analysis of effectiveness becomes especially important in implementing measures for determining the development of international socialist integration. They are ordinarily calculated for the long term, are of a large-scale nature, and have a significant influence on the formation of the structure of the national economic complexes of the USSR and the fraternal countries; therefore, miscalculations here are fraught with serious economic and socio-political consequences.

Calculations of effectiveness must play a definitive role in coordinating the national economic plans of the USSR and the CEMA nations. At the same time it is expedient to work toward achieving a certain uniformity in the methodological approaches taken by the individual countries. Then each country will be able to derive an objective analysis of the results, the expenses, and the effects associated with economic cooperation. Thus the prerequisites will be established for a fruitful solution to the problems of setting up one kind of production or another, wherein several countries take part or have an interest; and for optimum coordination of the national economic interests of the USSR and the CEMA countries.

In order to achieve success in the planning of foreign economic ties it is deemed necessary to develop a set of instruments which would permit evaluation of the absolute and relative effectiveness of these ties and putting them into practice; and to establish the economic and organizational conditions which would encourage the managerial nucleus at all levels to make estimates of effectiveness and to seek out those variants of development which would maximize the effect of the participation of the USSR in the international division of labor and thereby increase the effectiveness of social production.

Estimates of effectiveness must be made not only in the planning of economic measures directly associated with the country's participation in the international division of labor (export or import of products, and deliveries in accordance with agreements on inter-state specialization and production cooperation, and so on). These estimates must be made when planning major intra-economic measures--for example, the construction of a new enterprise or the reconstruction and expansion of the production of traditional goods, or the creation of new technology. In the final analysis the estimates of



effectiveness must promote the development of a structure in the national economy which combines in the most rational manner the export production of certain kinds of products, and the production of goods which are directed toward satisfying domestic needs and imports.

In recent years Soviet economists have been intensively engaged in working out theoretical and methodological questions in this area. Large numbers of articles and a number of monographs have appeared. Work is being carried out on practical approbation of the proposed methods of evaluating the effectiveness of foreign economic ties and on using them in national economic planning. As a result an integrated theoretical conception has been formed on the essence of the economic effectiveness of the USSR's participation in the international division of labor; approaches to the method of determining effectiveness have been defined; and a number of methodological recommendations have been worked out. Among the latter is, "A Method for Determining the Economic Effectiveness of the Foreign Economic Ties of the USSR,"<sup>1</sup> which contains recommendations for calculating the effectiveness of all basic forms of foreign economic ties: foreign trade; inter-state specialization and cooperation in production; setting up projects on the territory of the USSR using resources borrowed from foreign states--and abroad, using the resources of the USSR; and scientific-technical cooperation.

The basic benefit which the country derives from taking part in the international division of labor is the savings in socially-necessary expenditures for manufacturing products. Therefore, according to the Method, the criterion of effectiveness of the USSR's participation in the international division of labor is accepted as the maximum saving of socially-necessary time. The value of savings in social labor achieved through realization of specific variants of international economic cooperation is determined by comparing the results of foreign economic activity with national economic expenditures.

According to the Method, the national economic estimate of production, in which supply and demand are in balance, is constructed on the basis of the formula of calculated expenditures. At the very same time, when formulating the national economic estimate for products the demand for which exceeds the supply, the calculated expenditures are summed up along with the additional effect of the use of the products. Such an approach permits more accurate accounting of the real national economic result and expenditures in foreign economic activities, which increases the degree of substantiation for the decisions taken in this area. The fact of the matter is that for many kinds of products, the national economic estimate which reflects the effect of their use is greater than the calculated expenditures. In such circumstances the use of calculated expenditures unjustifiably inflates the indicators for effectiveness of exports--and, on the other hand, understates the indicators for effectiveness of imports.

Use of the indicators for national economic estimates of production permits bringing out the effect derived from the USSR's participation in the international division of labor, from the position of the entire socialist

economy. Along with this, the Method utilizes wholesale prices in estimating the advantages of foreign economic operations from the point of view of the cost-accounting interests of the enterprises (producers, consumers, and foreign trade organizations). But the first indicator is the decisive one for choosing variants of foreign economic cooperation. In case of disagreement among them measures are envisaged for calculating cost-accounting effectiveness in accordance with that of the nation as a whole.

In our view, the cited Method permits properly solving questions of measurement of current and capital expenditures, and also simultaneous expenditures and results. Among economists there are various points of view relative to whether normatives of effectiveness used in deriving calculated expenditures should be uniform for all branches of the national economy, or whether they should be differentiated. But in the foreign economic turnover all types of products produced by the various branches of the national economy become practically interchangeable: indeed, the different kinds of consumer costs in export are given the same value in foreign currency--which, in turn, can be spent to acquire various kinds of products. This presupposes the use of a uniform normative in calculations of the economic effectiveness of foreign economic ties, and for all measures connected with participation in the international division of labor (We stress that the necessity to use a uniform normative of effectiveness in this sphere is fixed in the methodologies of a number of socialist countries). The given circumstances are recognized by the majority of economists, including those who hold other views in analyzing the effectiveness of the development of the branches of social production.

When measuring non-simultaneous expenditures and results in calculating the effectiveness of production and foreign economic ties, the most acceptable method for accounting for the relative national economic value of resources at different periods of time is--the formula for compound interest, using the normative coefficient of effectiveness as the discount. The need for this arises in evaluating exports and imports on credit, which is compensated for in agreements and measures connected with specialization and cooperative production, and so on.

Introduction in the Method of a uniform coefficient of exchange for domestic monetary units for both currency transactions and for payments, instead of average export and import equivalents, was definitely a positive step (from the point of view of the general theory of effectiveness of participation in the international division of labor).<sup>2</sup> This coefficient is established by USSR Gosplan on the basis of indicators of promising plans for developing foreign trade and indicators of expenditures for the production of exported and imported products. Also taken into consideration in calculating this indicator is the anticipated degree of deficits in the corresponding kinds of currency for the planning period. The coefficients thus established for currency transactions create the prerequisites for optimizing plans for foreign economic ties. But in the future, in our opinion, it would be expedient to set forth more precisely the procedure for calculating them (the algorithm), in supplements to the Method.

Calculations of the effectiveness of foreign economic ties are carried out chiefly at USSR Gosplan under the auspices of the Automated System for Compiling the Optimum Plan for Foreign Economic Ties (ASOP-Vneshtorg), and to a significantly lesser degree at the branch ministries. They are very seldom carried out at the level of the production associations and enterprises. This circumstance is most often explained by the complexity of the Method. But after all, the subject of the evaluation--the effectiveness of foreign economic ties--is sufficiently complex as well. In general, in contemporary conditions, the growing complexity of economics (the interrelations among its subsystems and links) is matched by the growing complexity of the planning tools. And simplified approaches can only lead to erroneous solutions.

Occasionally one hears the point of view that if only the Method were based on existing wholesale prices, then calculations of effectiveness could be carried out on a wide scale in the production organizations. In our opinion such a position is untenable. As indicated above, such calculations are also envisaged in the Method (that is, evaluating the cost-accounting effectiveness of foreign economic ties with the aid of existing prices), but at the association and enterprise level they are practically not done at all (or very seldom).

But what is preventing the widespread introduction of estimates and analysis of effectiveness at all levels of the national economy? In our view there are two factors: one is economic and other other organizational. The economic factor is the main one. Production ministries, associations and enterprises do not have sufficient interest in increasing the economic effectiveness of participation in the international division of labor. Moreover, in existing conditions, it is more often not profitable for an enterprise to fill orders for exports. On the other hand, there is an economically-unsound demand for imports, in terms of its structure and volume. In order for the producer or the consumer to seek out variants for development of foreign economic ties on the basis of calculations of effectiveness, he would have to feel the economic effect of exports or imports. In order to do this it is necessary to create an effective system of material stimulus to realize the greatest possible effect from foreign economic ties for the enterprises and organizations directly or indirectly connected with the system of international division of labor.

The existing economic mechanism does not create such a stimulus. As a result, enterprises and organizations filling orders for export do not expend the energy required to seek out ways to implement and overfulfill the plan, which would provide the greatest economic effect to the nation (fully accounting for consumer orders, reducing consumption of materials and energy in production, reducing production outlays, stricter observation of periods for delivery, and others). On the other hand, enterprises which are not taking part in exports have no material incentive to work out amendments to the plan which would lead to expanding the country's export potential, and to increasing the national economic effect of its participation in the international division of labor.



The most important condition for formulating the best structure for export and for increasing its effectiveness is the creation of an economic mechanism which would stimulate production and foreign trade enterprises to derive the maximum possible economic effect from participation in the international division of labor. This would also permit successfully solving the task for integration of production and foreign economic activities, between which there is a certain gap at the present time.<sup>3</sup>

The activity of both the production and the foreign trade enterprises must, in our view, be stimulated on the basis of the size of the economic effect achieved (under conditions of fulfilling the planned tasks). It cannot serve as the basis for deductions for the economic incentive fund. At the same time the question of the principles for distributing the resulting effect among the production and the foreign trade enterprises is very important. In developing them one must take into consideration the necessity for providing high-quality export and import products, reducing production and treatment outlays, the entry of new articles into new sales markets, and achieving the most favorable currency rates.

In conditions of developing direct ties between Soviet enterprises and those of other socialist countries, strengthening economic motivation for involving production enterprises in export activity is increasingly important. An important step has been taken in that direction--the adoption of the decree of the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures for Establishing the Necessary Conditions for Developing International Production and Scientific-Production Intra-Branch Cooperation and for Developing Direct Ties Between Ministries, Departments, Associations, and Organizations of the USSR and the Other CEMA Member Nations." The decree establishes the principle according to which material stimulus of enterprises which implement direct ties is carried out in consideration of the size of the economic effect achieved and the degree of overfulfillment of planned tasks for international intra-branch cooperation.

At the present time specific methodological and normative documents are being worked out, which define the procedure and forms of deductions for the material incentive fund on the basis of the economic effect achieved. At the same time it is important to create a system of measures which would remove possible contradiction between national economic and cost accounting effectiveness. In this area there are proposals connected with the use of special discounts and markups for existing prices, the introduction of subsidies, taxes, the use of estimated prices, and so on.<sup>4</sup>

In order to make the stimulus of production and foreign economic activity dependent on the size of the economic effect achieved, it is necessary to possess an economic instrument which would ensure comparison of expenditures and results in the sphere of production and foreign economic activity. Such an instrument is a special currency exchange rate, which would reflect the national economic value of the currency (taking into consideration its purchasing power, cost of acquiring it, and its scarcity). It must be worked out and put into practice. In solving this question one may rely on the experience of the European CEMA nations where such rates (coefficients)

have been in effect for many years already. We note that in calculating the effectiveness of foreign economic cooperation, USSR Gosplan utilizes 20 special estimated currency rates for individual currency zones and countries. It would seem that (after the necessary amendments) they would be suitable for comparing the results and expenditures of production and foreign trade enterprises for exports.

Along with working out proposals for tying in material incentives for production enterprises with the effect received from foreign economic ties, improvements are also required in the existing system for awarding premiums to enterprises for timely delivery of export goods and fulfilling all requirements for quality and completeness specified in the purchase order, and also in the system of currency deductions to the suppliers of export products. In this respect the measures stipulated in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, "On the Wide Dissemination of the New Methods of Management and Strengthening their Influence on Accelerating Scientific-Technical Progress," are very significant; these are measures which concern additional incentives to export products with higher indicators of effectiveness, and also expanding the possibilities of using currency deductions for production enterprises.

In recent years a great deal has been done in the area of organizing foreign economic ties. For example, in the recent past all-union autonomously financed foreign trade associations have been created, and direct ties are being developed in the area of foreign economic cooperation. Apparently it would be expedient to organize a reliable and efficient system of information for production ministries and enterprises on the need for and the capability of manufacturing one product or another in the CEMA nations, and the state of this or that commodity market in the non-socialist countries.

It should be noted that the proportion of exports in industrial production is not large. For example, in machine building it amounts to about 3.0 percent. With certain exceptions export production is spread among many enterprises, where it comprises an insignificant part of gross output. In these conditions the incentive role of a system of deductions in rubles and foreign currency, as well as possible deductions from the aforementioned economic effect, is reduced. Therefore, an important prerequisite for strengthening the various forms of economic incentive is concentration of production at enterprises which specialize in deliveries abroad. It also establishes the conditions for expanding serial production of articles which are in demand on the foreign market, the introduction of the most advanced equipment and technology, improving the quality of the products, and conducting technical-economic work.

Indicators of economic effectiveness are not, and apparently cannot be confirmed by directives. But without their estimates, plans for developing the foreign economic cooperation of the USSR with foreign countries, in our opinion, should not be presented for approval by the directive organs.<sup>5</sup> However, they have not yet become mandatory indicators for estimates, nor as the basis for draft plans for development of foreign economic ties.

Obviously a central place in determining the effectiveness of the USSR's foreign economic ties must be occupied by the calculations carried out at USSR Gosplan with the aid of electronic computer technology on the basis of the Automated System for Optimal Planning of Foreign Economic Ties (ASOP-Vneshtorg). But they cannot replace all the calculations which must be made every day at various stages of planning in the ministries, departments and enterprises. In this connection the task arises for training specialists who have mastered the methodology of making the calculations and analyzing the effectiveness of foreign economic ties, and in ensuring the methodical uniformity of calculations in the given area at all levels of the national economy.

It is necessary to even further improve the methods and organization of estimates of the effectiveness of cooperation with foreign countries, and above all the methods of tying in the national economic and cost accounting interests of the production and foreign trade enterprises. In this direction it remains to specify a mechanism for stimulating production and foreign trade enterprises, depending upon the economic effect achieved (to determine the normative correlations when the corresponding funds are being formed, to detail the directions and forms of use of the latter, and so on).

It is also necessary to work out methods for forecasting the amount of the normative of effectiveness for forward planning (based on the proposed accumulation fund, the resources for capital investments, the possible sphere of their use and the degree to which the economy is supplied with various kinds of production resources). This will to a certain extent also permit making the evaluation of effectiveness more precise for those forms of foreign economic cooperation which are calculated on the basis of a long-term forward planning.

One problem which is awaiting solution is that of accounting for natural resources in the estimates of the effectiveness of foreign economic ties. Thus, in selecting the variants for involving the country in the international division of labor with the construction of industrial enterprises, it becomes necessary to account for the lands which are taken out of the agricultural turnover. In this case when determining the total expenditures for production one must take into consideration the national economic losses brought about by the removal of these lands from production, and include them in the cost of the construction projects.

As was already noted, more precision is required in the methodology for determining the coefficient used in estimates of the effectiveness of foreign economic ties for converting currency proceeds and currency payments into domestic monetary units. The currency coefficient is an important parameter for evaluating the effectiveness of foreign economic cooperation.

One of the directions for improving the methods for evaluating effectiveness is tying in its indicators with balance limitations. The fact of the matter is that the possibility of realizing one variant or another of foreign economic cooperation depends on the need for and the volumes of production, on the specific kinds of production in the country, on the availability of certain production resources, and on the state of supply and demand on the foreign markets.



Tying in the requirements of effectiveness of foreign economic ties with balance limitations permits raising the level of planning in this area. In the future, models of optimization can play an important role here. At the present time methodological principles have been worked out for constructing locally optimized models of the foreign trade turnover, branch models of optimization of production and foreign economic ties, and national economic models of optimization of production and foreign economic ties. Certain of these models are included in the Automated System for Optimal Planning of Foreign Economic Ties (ASOP-Vneshtorg); however, it would be sensible in our view to make wider use of them also when working out the prospects for developing production and foreign economic ties on the level of the separate branches of the national economy and their complexes.

Special attention must be devoted to problems of furnishing information for estimating the effectiveness of foreign economic ties. Presently branch institutes possess the necessary information for determining national economic expenditures for production of export goods, products exchanged for imports, and imported products. However, the information in question must be put in order, and it must be made more accessible to the organs which carry out the analysis and evaluation of the effectiveness of measures connected with foreign economic cooperation.

No less an important problem is the development of foreign economic information itself: indicators of supply and demand, foreign trade prices, and others. Such information is needed not only for the present moment, but also for forward planning. It can be generated during the forecasting process. For this purpose research should be intensified in the area of forecasting foreign economic parameters, and the organization of collecting and processing the corresponding information and its unification must be improved. Along with the traditional analytical methods for generating forecasting information, one would think that it would be necessary to make wider use of the capabilities of economic-mathematical models. It would also be desirable to establish the organizational prerequisites which would ensure receiving the foreign economic information at the lower level of management--at the production organizations.

When working out variants for the USSR's participation in the international division of labor and determining the most effective means for such involvement for the long term, the need also arises for aggregate information, which characterizes the development of foreign economic ties. Such information can be worked out and is already being worked out within the framework of research projects on the Complex Program for Scientific-Technical Progress and its Socio-Economic Consequences for the Long Term. Moreover, forecast indicators for development of foreign economic ties should be tied in with the indicators for the overall economic forecast.<sup>6</sup> This presupposes the expedience of utilizing iterative procedures for calculations at every stage for which the forecasts are clarified on the basis of additional information, and which characterize the development of the branches of the national economy and their ties with the foreign market. When evaluating the variants of foreign economic ties for the long term in aggregate indicators it is in our view possible to make use of simplified methods for calculating economic effectiveness.

Special attention should be paid to generating the forecast for developing economic cooperation among the CEMA member nations. These long-term forecasts, supplemented by estimates of its economic effectiveness, should serve the ends of improving coordination of the national economic plans of the fraternal nations.

Based on a complex of theoretical-methodological research projects, the principles have been worked out for evaluating the effectiveness of the USSR's participation in the international division of labor; these principles provide a reliable representation of the absolute effect of implementing one or another variant of cooperation and of their relative effectiveness. The task for making wider use of them in the practical work of planning the national economy has been brought to the forefront.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Method, which was worked out over a period of many years by USSR Gosplan, the Scientific Research Economic Institute [NIEI] at USSR Gosplan, the Central Economic-Mathematic Institute [TsEMI] at the USSR Academy of Sciences, and other departments, was approved by a decree of USSR Gosplan (1980).
2. In instances when the specific selection of goods purchased or sold has been predetermined, indicators of the currency effectiveness of the import or export of these goods is used as the coefficient for conducting currency transactions.
3. See: Yu.S. Shiryayev, "Ekonomicheskii mekhanizm sotsialisticheskoy integratsii" [The Economic Mechanism of Socialist Integration], Moscow, EKONOMIKA, 1973; and, V. Shastitko, "Production Cooperation at the Enterprise Level," VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, 1984, No 1.
4. See, for example: S. Zakharov, "Determining the Effectiveness of Imports and Questions of Economic Incentives," PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO, 1982, No 8.
5. This point of view has already been expressed in the works of Soviet economists. It was first presented by O. Rybakov in his article, "The Effectiveness of the USSR's Participation in Socialist Economic Integration," PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO, 1979, no 1.
6. Attention has been justly devoted to this situation in a number of works: A. Anchishkin, "A Method for Forecasting the Development of the National Economy," VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, 1980, No 1, pp 15-26; V.N. Kirichenko, "Dolgosrochnyy plan razvitiya narodnogo khozyaystvo (voprosy metodologii razrabotki)" [The Long-Term Plan for Development of the National Economy (Questions of Methodology)], Moscow, EKONOMIKA, 1974; and others.

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## GENERAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

### AGREEMENT ON SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN USSR SEA ECONOMIC ZONE

Moscow SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SSSR in Russian No 4, 1986 pp 51-55

[Statute on Conducting Sea Scientific Research in the Economic Zone of the USSR--ratified by Decree No 1272 of the USSR Council of Ministers of 19 December 1985]

[Text] 1. Sea scientific research in the economic zone of the USSR is carried out in accordance with the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 28 February 1984 "On the USSR Economic Zone", the Statute on Protection of the USSR Economic Zone, the present Statute and other legislative acts of the USSR as well as international treaties of the USSR.

Sea scientific research on the bottom of the USSR economic zone and in its depths is conducted in accordance with USSR legislation concerning the USSR continental shelf.

2. Sea scientific research may be conducted in the USSR economic zone by:

(a) Soviet organizations on the basis of state plans of economic and social development of the USSR and union republics, plans of ministries and departments and scientific and technical programs ratified according to prescribed procedure;

(b) foreign states, their legal persons and individuals and competent international organizations on the basis of international treaties of the USSR and in the absence of international treaties--of course, with the concordance of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, which is provided according to the procedure designated by the present Statute.

3. Foreign states and competent international organizations, which intend to conduct sea research in the USSR economic zone, including with the use for this purpose of vessels and other floating craft, underwater and flying vehicles called hereinafter scientific-research craft [obyekty], for the purpose of securing an agreement for this, submit through diplomatic channels to the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology not less than 6 months prior to the proposed date for the start of such research an inquiry and also full information in accordance with the appendix.



Foreign states in the same manner submit an inquiry and information in cases where their legal persons and individuals intend to conduct sea scientific research in the USSR economic zone.

Within 5 days of the day of receipt of the inquiry and required information, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology notifies the foreign state or competent international organization of their receipt (with indication of the date of receipt).

4. Under ordinary circumstances, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology gives its consent for carrying out sea scientific research in the USSR economic zone by foreign states, their legal persons and individuals and competent international organizations and that this research is being carried out exclusively for peaceful purposes and for expansion of scientific knowledge of the sea medium for the benefit of all mankind.

Such agreement may be refused if the sea scientific research:

has a direct bearing on exploration or extraction of natural resources of the USSR economic zone--both living and inanimate;

includes drilling of the economic zone's bottom or use of explosives or introduction of harmful substances into the sea medium;

includes the construction, operation or use of artificial islands, installations or structures.

In the event that the information presented in accordance with paragraph 3 of the Statute is inaccurate or contains unfulfilled commitments to the USSR stemming from sea scientific research previously conducted by the respective foreign state, its juridical and natural persons or a competent international organization, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology may refuse agreement on carrying out such research.

5. Foreign states, their juridical and natural persons and competent international organizations may start carrying out sea scientific research in the USSR economic zone on the expiration of 6 months following receipt by the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology designated in paragraph 3 of the present Statute if in the course of 4 months following the date of their receipt the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology does not report that:

the Committee refuses its agreement on the conduct of sea scientific research on the basis of paragraph 4 of the present Statute, or

the information presented by the foreign state or competent international organizations does not correspond in terms of the character and aims of sea scientific research to perfectly obvious facts, or

submission is required of additional information pertaining to the proposed sea scientific research, or

unfulfilled commitments to the USSR exist stemming from the sea scientific research performed earlier by the respective foreign state, its juridical and natural persons or competent international organization.

If the USSR as a member of the competent international organization or cooperating with it on the basis of a bilateral agreement has approved a detailed program of sea scientific research planned by this organization in the USSR economic zone or expressed the desire to take part in such research, and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology in the course of 4 months since the time of its receipt from the competent international organization of information concerning the time periods and area of this research has not raised any objections, the competent international organization on expiration of the indicated time may begin to carry it out. On receiving such information, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology informs the competent international organization in accordance with the procedure designated in paragraph 3 of the present Statute.

6. Foreign states, their legal persons and individuals and competent international organizations when carrying out sea scientific research in the USSR economic zone are obliged:

(a) to provide, if it is proposed by the USSR Plenipotentiary, for the participation of Soviet representatives in sea scientific research, particularly on board of research vessels and other installations or scientific-research craft. At the same time, the Soviet Side is under no obligation to take part in payment of expenditures for carrying out this research;

(b) to submit to the USSR Plenipotentiary on his request preliminary reports and also in the 3-month period following completion of research a brief report and within 6 months from the day of submission of the brief report a full report on the conducted research and obtained results. The indicated reports are submitted in the Russian language and in another working language of the United Nations Organization;

(c) to provide the USSR Plenipotentiary on his request access to all data and specimens within the bounds of scientific research and likewise to turn over to him data from which it would be possible to make a copy and specimens which could be shared without detriment to their scientific value;

(d) to provide the USSR Plenipotentiary on his request information containing an evaluation of such data, specimens and research results;

(e) not to create impediments to activities conducted by the USSR in the exercise of its sovereign rights and jurisdiction in the USSR economic zone;

(f) to inform the USSR Plenipotentiary on any significant change in the research program in no less than 60 days prior to the start of carrying out the research or prior to the onset of a significant change in the research program in the course of its fulfillment.

Changes in the research program are considered approved if the USSR Plenipotentiary, having confirmed the receipt of such information, does not communicate concerning any objections in the course of 45 days from the day of its receipt;

(g) if no arrangement exists concerning another, to remove in a short a period as possible the scientific-research installations or equipment when the research is completed.

7. A foreign vessel conducting sea scientific research in the USSR economic zone is obliged to have on board or on the superstructure a legible name, registration number and the name of the port of the vessel's registry.

8. A foreign vessel performing sea scientific research in the USSR economic zone is obligated to regularly maintain contact with Soviet shore services and on availability of appropriate equipment on board to transmit data on hydrometeorological, hydrological, hydrochemical and aerological observations in the basic international synoptic time periods to the closest Soviet radiometeorological center.

9. The captain of the foreign vessel conducting sea scientific research in the USSR economic zone or a responsible person on another scientific-research installation is obligated to provide unhindered access to the vessel or to the other scientific-research installation for the USSR Plenipotentiary (exactly like for officials of organs guarding the USSR economic zone) for examination of the equipment and technical aids designated for the performance of such research. Costs connected with the presence on board the foreign vessel or on another scientific-research installation of the USSR Plenipotentiary are borne by the respective foreign state and its juridical and natural persons or the competent international organization.

10. The person responsible for conducting sea scientific research in a USSR economic zone is obligated on the demand of the USSR Plenipotentiary (or official of the organ guarding the USSR economic zone) to provide necessary explanations and to provide free access to the equipment and technical aids designated for carrying out such research for the purpose of establishing correspondence to the available facts of information submitted in accordance with paragraph 3 of the present Statute.

11. The USSR Plenipotentiary (or official of the organ guarding the USSR economic zone) can halt the sea scientific research in this zone if such research is conducted not in accord with the information submitted in accordance with paragraph 3 or in violation of paragraph 6 of the present Statute.

On receiving from the USSR Plenipotentiary (or official of the organ guarding the USSR economic zone) notification on the decision to halt the sea scientific research, such research must be immediately halted.

Renewal of research is permitted by the USSR Plenipotentiary only after the elimination within the prescribed time of the permitted violations and



presentation of guarantees to the effect that in the future such violation will not be permitted.

Sea scientific research in a USSR economic zone conducted without the concurrence of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology or with such a deviation from the information submitted in accordance with paragraph 3 of the present Statute, which signifies a serious change in the initial research program, will be subject to immediate termination.

7697

CSO: 1825/49

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

ALLEGED U.S.-LINKED ULTRARIGHT GROUP 'PLOTTED' PALME'S DEATH

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by GOSTELERADIO correspondent V. Gubernatorov: "Tracks Lead to Neo-Nazis"]

[Excerpts] While going through the papers that had accumulated in my desk recently I found the accreditation issued by Swedish authorities to journalists attending the funeral ceremonies for Olof Palme. A crimson rose stands out on the thin paper; this is the symbol of the Social Democratic Workers Party of Sweden, which the slain leader headed for many years. The text on the card reads in large black letters: "Prime Minister Olof Palme. Official funeral and memorial service. 1986." The card brought back memories of the day when the crime was committed. It happened late in the evening of 28 February, but most Swedes did not learn about it until the next day. I remember very well the initial shock among Swedes at what had happened. Many refused to believe it.

"How could such a thing happen in Sweden?" These were the first words said then by Ingmar Carlsson, the deputy prime minister. "How could such a thing happen in our Sweden?" the newspapers, radio, and television repeated after him. The same question was asked by a small merchant from Malmo, who at the same time calculated that his store had been robbed 14 times in one year. It was asked by pensioners, who themselves are afraid to go out on the streets after dark for fear of robbers. And the same question was heard from the mouths of policemen, although those "enforcers of order" recorded more than 800,000 crimes in Sweden last year.

I remember the first reports of Olof Palme's murder well. Almost all of them were accompanied by statements from the police that there were no political motives behind the crime. Even at that time I was struck by this obvious haste to reach such conclusions. Today you can hardly find a person in Sweden who doubts that the real underlying cause of this crime was political. During their investigation the police established that a group of people was involved in the murder, and that it was a carefully deliberated and planned action. Even these facts refute the version of the lone killer which appeared at the beginning of the investigation.

According to reports in the local press, the Swedish police are now investigating the activities of rightist and neo-Nazi parties and groups. The attempts to find traces of the criminals in these circles are by no means accidental. The first impetus was the arrest of one suspect, against whom very grave indictments were delivered. Then everything began to move and new evidence snowballed. During the investigation it was learned, for example, that the arrested man had constant contacts with Swedish

neo-Nazi organizations. The police search of his apartment revealed papers in which Olof Palme was spoken of with open hostility. The report that the arrested man had for a time belonged to an extremist group called the "European Worker Party" caused a real sensation. The first news of it was somewhat contradictory. At first the papers wrote that its members were communists. It soon became clear, however, that such allegations were absolutely unfounded. And although those who belong to this party prefer not to publicize themselves and their activity, the persistent Swedish journalists dug out many secrets of the organization and its true goals and objectives.

It is now known for a fact that the so-called "European Worker Party" is an international terrorist organization whose headquarters is in the United States. It has divisions in many Western European countries, including Sweden. The Swedish members favor the country's joining NATO and equipping the Swedish Army with the neutron bomb, supposedly for defense against the "Soviet threat." For many years they have had as their main objective a planned and persistent campaign of lies and slander against Olof Palme; they would stoop to anything -- from shuffling the facts from his personal life to ridiculous allegations that the prime ministers was "selling Sweden to the Soviets." The Swedish newspaper AFTONBLADET quoted the words of one member of this organization, said in 1984: "The time may possibly come when we will shoot Olof Palme."

It also became known that the members of the "unified and harmonious family," as the head of the Swedish division of the party called his subordinates, go through special training in firing a pistol in Wiesbaden, West Germany, the location of the party's West German center. There is another such training ground for acquiring shooting skills and learning to conduct terrorist actions; it is in the state of Georgia, in the United States. The party maintains ties with the CIA, and many believe that the American intelligence agency is the primary contributor of money to the party treasury.

The police are also making careful checks of other neo-Nazi organizations in Sweden. While Olof Palme was still alive the local press reported that the neo-Nazis had compiled lists of people subject to physical extermination. The first name on these lists was that of the Prime Minister of Sweden.

The police are now hunting persistently for a person suspected of complicity in the murder. It is possible that he belonged to such an organization, but certainly not a Swedish one. But this does not change the essence of the matter, for the close ties of neo-Nazis from different countries are well known. This light-haired, athletically-built man was seen alongside Palme on the streets of Stockholm several times. From witnesses' descriptions the police compiled a composite photo. It was published in the local newspapers and shown on television. Employees at the Hotel Clara in the center of Stockholm recognized the photo as one of their guests, who had stayed in room 102 from 18 to 27 February. On the registration card under home address he wrote "Zurich, Switzerland." Hotel personnel who were questioned said that the man did not know a word of Swedish and spoke only in German or English. His departure resembled a flight. No one knows exactly when he left the hotel. He did not pay for the last two days he stayed at the hotel, and one might suppose that he was just a common cheater who had spent all his money. But the man who fled left two bags full of clothes and books in his room. Therefore, many think that his



main objective was to disappear from the hotel quietly, without attracting any attention, on the eve of the crime.

It is not yet possible to name those guilty of the murder of Olof Palme. But the investigation cannot help arriving at right extremist and neo-fascist groups, the people who bitterly hated Olof Palme for his great contribution to the cause of preserving peace, averting war, and developing friendship and mutual understanding among all the peoples of the world.

11176

CSO: 1807/257

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

IZVESTIYA'S BOVIN ON U.S. MEDIA TREATMENT OF CHERNOBYL

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 May 86 p 5

[Article by A. Bovin, IZVESTIYA political commentator: "A Week In New York"]

[Text] At the very end of April and the first days of May I had occasion to visit New York City. At the initiative of the [Alerdink] Fund the fourth meeting of journalists representing East and West was to be held.

But before speaking of this meeting, a few impressions on a different topic. In the standard hotel room at the Barbizon, as usual, there was the standard television set. Thirteen buttons, thirteen channels. And each one of them was pouring out a genuine propaganda tsunami on television viewers: Chernobyl!

Somewhere, either in Indonesia or in Japan, the President of the United States got lost -- his trip to Asia received scarcely any mention. Once again something blew up right there in the United States -- big deal. The "evil" Qadhdhafi and the ubiquitous terrorists suddenly disappeared. Everything was focused on Chernobyl. Terrifying rumors and gossip, shameless lies, pseudo-expert appraisals and profound deliberations by those in the know, satellite photos, and frightened tourists returning from the USSR, harried by reporters. And all this was repeated several times to the tiresome refrain of exasperated statements about the lack of complete and timely information from Moscow.

Yes, during those days there was indeed little information. And we, five Soviet journalists who chanced to be in New York City, felt this much more acutely than did the Americans. Because what had happened at Chernobyl was above all our woe and our pain. What happened there? How did it happen? There was no escaping these questions. But we understood that it takes time to obtain reliable information, and that emergency situations require an especially cautious approach to the nature and volume of information. We, I repeat, understood this and attempted to convey this to Americans.

Whatever the case may have been, the reticence of reports from Moscow in no way justified the outbreak of propaganda hysteria. I will be more precise: words of consolation were heard, but they were barely audible over the background of tactless and crude (I have selected the most polite terms) discussions and statements designed to provoke hostility toward the Soviet

Union. It was announced that 15,000 people had been buried in a mass grave. Then, with disclaimers and evident mistrust it was reported that "only" two persons had died at the moment of the accident. And it seemed that this sort of information was not to the liking of the commentators who were hungry for reliable information. If not 15,000, then at least 10, at least 1,000...

And what good were the blood-red radioactive clouds which were zealously drawn by the television companies and which periodically appeared on television screens over various portions of the map? At first over northeastern Europe, and then over southwestern Europe. Later the sinister red tint stretched across the entire territory of the USSR, encircled Japan and, turning sharply northward, headed toward Alaska and, finally, covered the western portion of the United States. And there was hardly a word (or half a word, or a quarter of a word) about the fact that there was no actual health hazard for the people living in the regions indicated.

I encounter American journalists in one way or another every day as part of my job. I thought that nothing could shock me. But at first I was taken aback by this flagrant lack of conscience. Taken aback by the level of emotions: how can this be, this is a tragedy, a common human tragedy; not so long ago we were mourning together the death of the American astronauts... Taken aback at the level of reasoning and logic, it was all so simple. Those who applauded the invasion of Grenada, who hailed the bombing of Tripoli and Benghazi, could not have reacted to Chernobyl otherwise than they did. They were not ashamed. One is ashamed for them.

Now let us return to the journalists' conference. What is the [Alerdink] Fund? It is an organization whose goal is to strengthen mutual understanding between East and West, using contacts between journalists for this end. The [Alerdink] Fund was created and is financed by wealthy Dutch businessman Frans [Lyurfink]: ([Alerdink] is the name of his suburban residence.) [Lyurfink] himself explains his actions roughly as follows: he roamed the world and earned money. What else was there? He decided to be of service to people, had a wish that people should understand one another better, that they should work together instead of fighting. Hence the fund's goal.

And I should emphasize one other thing. Those journalists who are involved in the fund's work are those who have already made a choice, those who consciously -- each with his own motives and within the framework of his own political views -- wish to work for mutual understanding instead of for disharmony and a worsening of relations between East and West. This defines the methodology of our meetings. We select several specific topics, and we seek some sort of common approach, common orientations, which would make it possible for the Western audience to better understand the East's views, and for the Eastern audience to better understand those of the West. The psychological task is quite complex. Because we have grown accustomed to "clarifying relations," fixing our attention on various viewpoints, but in this case we need to seek their synthesis. And I have frequently caught myself following old habits: I find myself wanting to give a "rebuttal." Which generally is much simpler than seeking out and formulating, as it is currently fashionable to say, a "field of mutually convergent interests."



This time our host was New York University. Taking part in the discussion were journalists from Hungary, the FRG, Poland, the Soviet Union, the United States, France and Yugoslavia. The general framework of the discussion: between the two summit meetings. Three topics, each with a different group of participants: the role of television in the coverage of summit meetings (as a sort of experimental material we used a presentation of commentaries by Soviet and American correspondents in Geneva before we got down to the exchange of opinions); how the Soviet mass media depict the United States and how the American mass media depict the USSR (each side had an opportunity to show the other side several newspaper articles which were typical in their pluses and minuses); and what journalists can and must do in order to contribute to the success of disarmament talks. As you can see, we had plenty to talk about. And we did talk. Incidentally, on a rather intelligent level. Naturally we also discussed the events at Chernobyl. From the standpoint of the lessons which the mass media should learn so as not to turn a human drama into a speculative brouhaha.

The discussion was open to the public. The hall was filled to capacity with university students and local journalists. Lots of questions were asked. And our American colleagues, who led discussions on all three topics, were quite impartial, in my opinion, in allocating time to questions which were not always pleasant. Incidentally, there are no bad questions, only bad answers.

It was the consensus of the participants that the meeting was successful. This does not mean that the representatives of the East convinced the representatives of the West. Or vice versa. This means that we came to a better understanding of each other's argument, logic and attitudes.

12825

CSO: 1807/269

WESTERN EUROPE

REASONS FOR CP'S POOR SHOWING IN FRENCH ELECTIONS EXPLAINED

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 14, 1 Apr 86 pp 6-7

[Article by E. Arsenyev: "Elections in France: Results and Conclusions"]

[Text] THE ELECTIONS TO FRANCE'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY THAT TOOK PLACE ON 16 MARCH HAD A NUMBER OF PECULIARITIES.

For the first time during the years of the Fifth Republic, i. e. during the last 30 years, they were held according to a proportional system with 1 round of voting. This increased the importance of the elections for all political parties, as well as the role of their independent activities; however, this didn't exclude the nomination of combined slates of candidates as right-wing parties did in some districts.

The number of election districts was increased to 577 (earlier it was 491). Each of them consisted of an approximately equal number of voters. Votes for slates that received less than 5 percent weren't taken into consideration.

Members of regional councils and self-government institutions of major economic regions, the powers of which were somewhat expanded during recent years, were elected simultaneously.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN FRANCE, BEING AN IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENT OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES, HAS QUITE A NUMBER OF LIMITATIONS.

Only since 1974 have youth who have attained the age of 18 (earlier those beginning at the age of 21 participated in voting) been enjoying it.

A residency qualification exists: persons who have resided at a given location less than 6 months do not have the right to participate in elections, and that deprives seasonal and temporary workers of the right to vote.

Immigrant workers--nearly 1.5 million--along with their families, nearly 4 million people, don't have the right to vote.

Restrictions apply as well to foreigners who have received French citizenship. They enjoy suffrage only after the expiration of 5 years following the receipt of citizenship.

Military service personnel have the right to vote, but in fact they're prohibited from participating in a preelection campaign and attending political meetings.

#### REASONS FOR THE SERIOUS SOCIALIST LOSSES

THE ELECTIONS WERE HELD IN A COMPLEX POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE. The arrangement of political forces changed dramatically during the period that elapsed beginning from the moment of previous parliamentary elections in 1981 when the socialists came to power and a left-wing government majority was created with the participation of communists. While implementing some positive reforms during the first years of their government, the socialists soon after embarked on the path of a "rigorous economizing" policy that caused an increase in unemployment and a reduction in workers' standard of living. During these years the number of unemployed grew by 800,000 people. There are nearly 3 million of them now.

In July 1984 the communists left the government as a sign of disagreement with the socialists' policy. The workers' dissatisfaction increased, but under the conditions of mass unemployment it didn't always assume active forms.

All this made the preelection campaign exceptionally fierce. Just as before, it was held UNDER CONDITIONS THAT WERE UNEQUAL AND DISCRIMINATORY FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY. The fire of practically all other political forces--from the ruling socialist party to the neofascists--was concentrated against the communists. The access of communist candidates to the mass media--especially to radio and television, which is under government control--was restricted in every way possible, while the bourgeois parties used them extensively for conducting anticommunist propaganda. President Mitterand played an active role in the preelection campaign. The state machinery in the center and locally also were at the disposal of the socialists and right-wing parties, and private banks, monopolies and private funds of various kinds extensively subsidized their campaign.

ONE OF THE BASIC RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS WAS THE SOCIALISTS' LOSS OF A MAJORITY IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. Having received nearly 31 percent of the votes, i. e. 6 percent less than in 1981, the socialists along with the "left-wing radicals" as before have available the largest group of deputies (215). However, this isn't sufficient to form a government.

The socialists' serious losses are a natural result of their "rigorous economizing" policy, as well as the anticommunism that is being professed by them and attempts to strengthen their own influence at the expense of other democratic forces to the detriment of the communist party. The elections showed that in the final analysis a policy like this turns against those who pursue it.

MANY VOTERS (21.7 PERCENT) ABSTAINED, WERE DISILLUSIONED WITH THE SOCIALISTS' POLICY, AND DIDN'T WANT A RETURN OF THE RIGHT-WINGERS AT THE SAME TIME.

Nevertheless, THE RIGHT-WING GROUPS TAKEN TOGETHER (OPR [ASSOCIATION FOR SUPPORT OF THE REPUBLIC], SFD [UNION FOR FRENCH DEMOCRACY], AND OTHERS) RECEIVED NEARLY 46 PERCENT OF THE VOTES, AND THAT PROVIDED FOR THE ELECTION OF 293 DEPUTIES,



including 150 seats for the Association for Support of the Republic headed by J. Chirac and 128 seats for Giscard d'Estaing's Union for French Democracy. Speculating on the voters' legitimate dissatisfaction with the policy of the socialists and extensively using social demagoguery, they thus won a minimum majority.

In the area of foreign policy the right-wingers are in favor of strengthening France's cooperation with NATO and increasing French nuclear weapons. At the same time, none of them are questioning the importance of Franco-Soviet cooperation.

A new factor, which arose during recent years in France, is the REVIVAL OF NEOFASCISM. The neofascists raised their heads under the conditions of mass unemployment and crisis, and feelings of despair and desperation that have enveloped some sections of the population. The neofascist organization "National Front" and its leader Le Pen installed 35 deputies in the National Assembly. For the first time the neofascists have their own parliamentary group available.

#### THE COMMUNIST PARTY: FIGHTING ON "TWO FRONTS"

In many respects the elections were difficult for French communists. They're waging a selfless fight for what V. I. Lenin called new, unusual and inopportune parliamentarianism. They have to take into consideration that the long-standing tendency of "delegation of authority," i. e. hopes that all problems can be solved "from above" in parliament without the active intervention of workers, has taken root in French society. The communists are seeking to dispel such illusions and they're constantly emphasizing that only a powerful popular movement can provide the conditions for profound democratic changes.

IN FACT, THE COMMUNISTS HAD TO WAGE A FIGHT ON "TWO FRONTS"--AGAINST THE RIGHT-WING FORCES AS WELL AS AGAINST THE SOCIALISTS AND THEIR ATTEMPTS TO WEAKEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY. The FKP [French Communist Party] exposed the thesis of the bourgeoisie and the socialists on the "fatality" of the crisis, showed that there is a way out of it, and advanced a specific program for improving the health of the economic system and for the fight with unemployment and inflation. The French CP was the only party that was in favor of reducing nuclear weapons, against the plans of "star wars" and in favor of disarmament.

The French CP suffered losses in the unequal fight under the conditions of a real "ideological war." It received nearly 10 percent of the votes, i. e. 6 percent less than the 1981 elections. In all, 35 deputies were elected, including party General Secretary J. Marshe, members of the French CP Politburo A. Lazhuani, R. Lerua, M. Gremets, Guy Ermye, J.-K. Gesso and others. This is 9 deputies less than in the previous elections. AND ALTHOUGH IN COMPARISON WITH ELECTIONS TO THE "EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT" (JUNE 1984) HALF A MILLION MORE VOTERS VOTED FOR FRENCH CP CANDIDATES, THE COMMUNISTS CONSIDER THE ELECTION RESULTS UNFORTUNATE.

What are the reasons for results like these? Do they mean that some voters turned away from the communist party and that this process is irreversible as the anticommunists assert?

THESE REASONS ARE FAR FROM SYNONYMOUS. Some of them are of an OBJECTIVE NATURE: discrimination against the communist party, an atmosphere of unbridled anti-communism and pressure on voters, economic crisis and the insufficient political activity of some sections of workers that is being caused by it, and the heterogeneous composition of the working-class movement and its irregular development.

Other reasons are of a SUBJECTIVE NATURE and are caused by the party's policy itself which communists spoke about in a self-critical manner at the 25th Congress of the French CP (February 1985). They noted that for the time being they haven't succeeded completely in eliminating the negative consequences of a policy of an alliance with left-wing forces that the party was pursuing at the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's. This policy led to the dissemination of certain illusions relative to socialists, a change in the correlation of forces in their favor, and a weakening of the communist party.

In addition, mass pressure was exerted on workers in order to convince them that voting for socialists supposedly was the only means of preventing right-wing parties from returning to power. This blackmail and the "complex of useful voting" for their candidates that was being spread by the socialists had an effect on a portion of the voters. Just as in 1981, some of them voted for socialists in order to "block the way of the right-wingers."

Analyzing the situation that was created, the French communists note that these voters weren't lost for the communist party and that the French CP remains France's largest organized party, numbering nearly 600,000 members and waging a consistent fight for the workers' interests and for democracy and social progress.

As noted in a statement of the French CP Politburo, one of the goals of the right-wing forces and the socialists is to provide for a system of alternating the parties in office according to the American model, i. e. right-wing parties and socialists, in order to impose even greater sacrifices on workers and to oust the communist party from political life. The opponents of the French CP didn't achieve this goal. The communist party's influence and viability are determined not only by the number of votes cast for it, but also by its ability under the most difficult conditions to maintain and strengthen its leading and revolutionary role and to vigorously protect the interests of workers.

As a whole, the election results in France led to a correction in the arrangement of political forces and the creation of a climate of sociopolitical instability, and that presages further exacerbation of the class struggle. This shift found expression also in the results of elections to regional councils where the socialists received 495 seats, the SFD 346 seats, the OPR 328 seats, the French CP 170 seats, and the "National Front" 130 seats.

Similar results do not mean that France is returning to the situation that existed before 1981. The right-wingers didn't succeed in achieving complete revenge for their defeat at that time, and workers don't intend to condone attempts to promote an attack on their rights.

## WESTERN EUROPE

### MILITARY JOURNAL HITS EEC POLITICAL, MILITARY INTEGRATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 7, Apr 86 pp 83-87

[Article by Colonel Yu. Yerashov: "Helmet" for Western Europe: Steps of Imperialist Integration"]

[Text] In the tangle of constantly growing interimperialist contradictions, three large centers of the world of capital are competing: The United States, Japan, and Western Europe. At the same time, Western Europe, because of the class solidarity of the capitalists, comes forward as the direct ally and reserve of American imperialism in the "crusade" which has been proclaimed by it against world socialism.

The European Economic Community (EEC) is playing an increasingly noticeable role in Western Europe. It was established in 1958 by the Treaty of Rome, consisting of France, FRG, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg. After that it was joined by Great Britain, Denmark, Ireland, and Greece, and in 1985 Spain and Portugal were accepted into its membership (the decision about their admission became effective as of 1 January 1986, after its ratification by the parliaments of the participant countries).

It is noteworthy that not the majority, but the minority of the countries of the European continent (12 out of 35) make up the EEC, that under the "European" sign the same American monopolistic capital is completely in charge in the countries of the market. The multinational monopolies, which play an important role in the economic life of Western Europe, are under its control. Great Britain, which General de Gaulle in his time, not without reason, called "the Trojan horse of the United States", practically comes forward as the direct conduit of American influence.

Applying methods of state-capitalist regulation, the "Common Market" develops the principles of a coordinated economic policy, both in the sphere of industry (for example, the nuclear, steel, and coal mining industries) and in agriculture. It encourages the free movement, inside the community, "of people, capital and services", formed a currency union using the "European currency unit" (ECU) and a customs union, encourages the coordination of the legislation of the participant countries and the conduct of a single policy line by them in the sphere of foreign trade, etc. The EEC attaches great significance to the maintenance and strengthening of relations not based on equal rights with



the states that have liberated themselves and to the utilization of the community itself as a weapon of the policy of collective neocolonialism.

However, in the conditions of the sharpening of capitalist competition and because of the numerous contradictions among the participants of the Common Market, many questions, as a rule, are decided with difficulty, are frequently put off, and become the subject of fruitless debates. One of the executives of the EEC, Gaston Thorn (Luxembourg), was compelled to acknowledge directly: "From the time when real incomes in the European Community began to fall, all countries are looking above all at their own purse, not a single head of government wants to make financial sacrifices for the benefit of the European community anymore."

Nevertheless, the process of integration within the framework of the Common Market continues to develop, it is being looked at with lust by the monopolistic bourgeoisie of some other capitalist countries, which is indicated, for example, by the insistence manifested by the ruling circles of Spain and Portugal in striving for admission to the EEC. The "all-European solution" is quite simple: All expenses of imperialist integration are loaded in the community on the working masses. They are subjected to a double yoke, but the capitalist monopolies, for whom the extraction of maximum profit always has been and remains the decisive criterion, receive new possibilities for their enrichment.

Under the pretext of the "modernization of production", the leadership of the Common Market, in carrying out the demand of the monopolies, is blocking the creation of additional work places, and maintains the policy of the reduction of production capacities in the metallurgical, coal and ship building industry. In connection with this, hundreds of thousands of workers are losing their jobs and are thrown into the street. By the beginning of 1986, according to official and clearly lowered data, the total number of unemployed in the EEC countries exceeded 16 million, or 11 percent of the able-bodied population.

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Within the framework of the EEC, not only economic and political integration is taking place. This is indicated by the coordinated positions of the members of the community in regard to several important questions of international and domestic life and by their attempt "to speak with one voice". Almost all of the countries of the community are participants in NATO. It is precisely their membership in the aggressive imperialist alliance which determines the general line in the policy of the West European states. Since the ruling positions in NATO are occupied by the United States, under whose dictation the strategy and tactics of the bloc are developed, the "common voice" of the EEC members often turns out to be the voice of Washington. Thus, the countries of the community supported the missile and nuclear rearmament of NATO, contributed their mite to the realization of anti-Soviet and anti-Polish "economic sanctions", and are taking active part in the subversive anti-Afghan campaign of world imperialism.

Political integration finds its expression also in the limitation of the sovereignty of the participant countries and in the creation of a ramified system

of supernational organs of government. Moreover, this trend--toward the construction of various types of cosmopolitical formations to the detriment of national sovereignty--continues to develop. It is clearly observed in the evolution of the organizational structure of the community. Its main constituent components are the parliament, the commission, and the council of ministers. Besides them there are a whole series of auxiliary common organs: An Investment Bank, an Accounting Office, a Court, etc. It is even creating its own university, which is called upon to tie science to capitalist integration.

The European Parliament (location--Strasbourg) exists as much as the community itself exists. But if earlier its membership was appointed by national parliaments, beginning in 1979 it was begun to be elected by means of direct elections in the participant countries. Thereby the European Parliament was put higher than the national parliaments and now already claims to "speak in the name of 321 million European citizens." It includes 518 deputy seats. All of them are divided among the participants on the basis of "the right of the strong", i. e., depending on their economic and political weight. The current membership was elected in 1984. The majority in it--273 mandates--belongs to right-wing and extreme right-wing bourgeois parties. In the Parliament there is a group of 46 communist deputies. In essence only they represent and defend the interests of the workers here.

In practice, the Parliament automatically rubberstamps almost all drafts submitted for its examination by the administration of the community. Thus, the Parliament "welcomed" the delivery of American first-strike nuclear missiles to Western Europe. It is instructive that the current composition of the Parliament, already at its first session in June 1984, turned down the proposal of the communist fraction to honor the memory of all patriots who fell in the struggle against the Nazi tyranny. On the other hand, in May 1985, when all nations observed the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory over Hitlerite fascism, it made its platform available to the president of the United States, who called for reconciliation with the fascist executioners and advocated "star wars". In October 1985 the reactionary majority came out against a proposal concerning the establishment of direct business relations between the EEC and CEMA.

As its basic asset, the European Parliament listed the plan for the creation of the European Political Union, known under the name of "Spinelli project". We are talking about the conversion of the EEC into a federation of states connected among themselves by close economic, political and military bonds. The most zealous advocates of imperialist integration already see in this union the so-called "United States of Europe".

The Commission of European Communities (with residence in Brussels) is the second basic part of the united structure, which is invested with executive power. It consists of 17 members who are appointed by the participant states. What is more, a number of countries--the FRG, France, Great Britain, Italy and Spain have two representatives each, but the remaining participants--one each. At the disposal of the commission is an enormous governmental apparatus, numbering about 15,000 officials. In essence, the commission is the government of the Common Market, but with limited powers, since it cannot yet give direct

instructions to the participant countries. However, within the framework of the European Political Community, the idea is to transform the commission into a "super-government", whose authority would extend to all participant countries. It would already stand above the national governments.

In the meanwhile the deciding voice in the EEC belongs to the Council of Ministers. It regularly meets to discuss the most important questions at the level of the heads of states and governments, the ministers of foreign affairs, economics, finance, etc. Its decisions are binding for all institutions of the community. But the "Spinelli project" abolishes the principle of unanimity in the decision-making of the Council of Ministers. A state can make use of the right to cast a veto only "if its vital interests are affected", and what is more, with the sanction. . . of the European Commission. But this means that the whales of the Common Market--the FRG, France and Great Britain--receive the possibility, by simple majority, to impose their will on their junior partners, for whom the veto right previously was the last anchorage.

In the ruling circles of the [Common] Market, an active discussion of the idea of reform is underway, a reform which proposes the introduction of great changes both in the tasks and in the structure of the EEC. It is proposed to transform the community itself into the "European Union", i. e., to remove from it the economic signboard and draw nearer to a state formation of the federative type. Along with the economic policy, the union will develop and put into practice a common foreign policy. The competence of all the above-mentioned supra-national organs of government is being expanded. Joint military construction is also regarded as of paramount importance.

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In the community there is no end to the extensive and carefully orchestrated propaganda campaign in favor of the further militarization of the EEC countries. The NATO military team already no longer suits the imperialists. New additional possibilities are being investigated for the acceleration of the race to aggressive war. Against whom? Bourgeois propaganda gives an identical answer to this question: Against the Soviet Union and the other participant states of the Warsaw Pact. For this purpose, the enemies of peace take up and whip up NATO's great lie about "the Soviet military threat" and deny the existence of approximate military balance between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Soviet peace initiatives are distorted or hushed up.

The military-industrial complex conducts and orders the music for the West European militarist orchestra. Thus, in Belgium and in France, during different years but under the identical name of "Europe Without Defense?", books by the Belgian general Robert Klose and the French colonel Michel Manel were published. The basic thesis of the Belgian general reads: The defense of NATO is "so weak" that in the case of war Russian tanks can advance to the Rhine in 48 hours. Not excluding "direct aggression" by the troops of the Warsaw Pact against NATO, the French colonel lays special stress on the "danger" of the turning movement of Western Europe by Soviet troops from the south, from the side of the Near East and Africa, and its subsequent "economic suffocation". Such delirious fabrications became necessary to these "theorists" in order to call for the formation of a powerful military alliance to supplement NATO.



Such an alliance, according to the idea of its heralds, will make it possible to put an end to the anti-war and anti-missile movement in Western Europe. In the consciousness of the West European public, the militarists complain, NATO presents itself as an American military organization. Many West Europeans do not trust American and NATO generals and do not want to fight under their command in case of war. On the other hand, if a "European army" were created, then such moods would subside. . . . Then one could declare the advocates of peace, the communists, and all democrats as "traitors" and place them outside the law, and establish a terrorist regime. This looks very much like Hitler's "New Order" in Europe! The troubadours of "Europe in a Military Helmet", in particular the neofascists, not only secretly dream, but also openly talk precisely about this. Their leader in the European Parliament, Le Pen, impudently declares: "The goal of our group is to become a striking force for the repulse of Marxism and for the liberation of Europe, which is threatened by Soviet hegemonism and the "Third World", whose population is swiftly growing."

The militarist lasso for the Common Market, the imperialists see in the West European Union (WEU). This exclusive military-political grouping was created in 1955. It includes seven capitalist states: The FRG, France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg. The goals and the structure of the Union are regulated by the Treaty of Brussels (1948) and the Paris Agreements (1954). It was precisely this Union which opened the way to the remilitarization of the FRG and its entry into NATO. The treaty on the Union envisages, in particular, the extension of assistance, including military assistance, in the case of "attack" on one of the participants. It is also written that the treaty has the purpose of realizing measures for the achievement of "the unity and progressive integration of Europe". The governing organs of the Union are the Council, consisting of the ministers of foreign affairs, and the Assembly, which includes representatives of the national parliaments.

A long time ago, the West European Union acquired the reputation of a branch of the North Atlantic Bloc, all aggressive measures of which it supports to one degree or another. However, the champions of militarism thought that the potential possibilities of the West European Union are poorly utilized, that it can serve as an area for the construction of a Western Europe armed to the teeth. The session of the Union organs in Rome, which took place in October 1984, became the turning point in this respect. At it, the Union was declared "the sole European organization competent in the sphere of defense." Having emphasized that it is precisely NATO "which remains the foundation of European security", the Council of Ministers wrote in its declaration: "Being convinced of the constant necessity of strengthening West European security and the geographical, political, psychological and military supports of Western Europe, the ministers expressed their resolution to make better use of the possibilities of the West European Union for the purpose of deepening the cooperation between the participant states in the sphere of politics and security."

Then the decision was taken henceforth to convene a session of the West European Union twice a year with the involvement not only of the ministers of foreign affairs, but also the ministers of defense. The Permanent Committee and the General Secretariat were charged with preparing the drafts of decisions in regard to various aspects of the operation of the Union. For their assistance,

"study groups" can be enlisted and even a committee of the chiefs of the general staffs of the participant countries, from which they expect concrete proposals aimed at the increase of the military muscles of the bloc. It is noteworthy that the chairman of the Rome session was the minister of foreign affairs, H. D. Genscher, who sees the essence of the problem in the fact that "in the Atlantic Alliance the Americans are not too strong, but the Europeans are too weak."

It was decided to impart "great dynamism" to the strictly military organs of the bloc: The Permanent Committee for Armaments and the Armaments Control Agency. As far as the production of armaments is concerned, which the committee is studying, the participants of the West European Union do not have to show false modesty: Joint work is being done on the creation of a "European operational aircraft" (with the participation of the FRG, France, Italy, Spain and Great Britain), an operational helicopter (FRG and France), a military observation satellite (France and FRG), other models of operational equipment, and on the standardization of existing models.

The military-industrial complex of the countries of Western Europe, as a rule, show great speed when an opportunity presents itself to make a fortune in the arms race. And nevertheless, in the division of the pie of military orders in NATO, Western Europe remains far behind the United States. According to calculations of the WASHINGTON POST, in the delivery of armaments for NATO the ratio between West European and American companies looks like 1:7 in favor of the latter. It is precisely in the West European Union, this newspaper thinks, that the countries of Western Europe see an instrument for undermining the American monopoly. The law of capitalist competition lies also at the basis of the present disagreements between the members of the Union and the United States with respect to the realization of the American program of the militarization of space.

As counterbalance to the so-called "strategic defense initiative" (SDI) of the United States, the West Europeans put forth their own Eureka program. However, upon close examination it turns out that these two programs in essence supplement each other and that one can easily "build bridges" between them. And, indeed: Eureka, which was proclaimed "a civilian project", contains a whole series of militarist components--the creation of systems of reconnaissance, detection, telecommunication satellites, etc. This is why such transnational giants of Western Europe as Siemens (FRG), Thomson (France), General Electric (Great Britain), Fiat (Italy), Philips (Netherlands), and others expressed their readiness to serve the two programs at once. The FRG and Great Britain have already decided to take part in the realization of SDI.

The Armaments Control Agency in the West European Union has also "distinguished itself". Formally it must control the observance, by West Germany, of a number of limitations in the production of arms. In actual fact, the agency promotes the forced rearmament of West German imperialism. The last prohibitions for the FRG in the production of offensive weapons, including rockets of great range and strategic bombers, have been removed.

The leaders of the West European Union give to understand that they are getting ready to accept Spain and Portugal into the membership of the bloc. It seems,

of the countries of the Common Market, only Greece, Denmark and Ireland remain outside the Union. But in military respect, they do not have decisive significance, moreover it will be possible in the future to involve them in the Union as "associated members". Thus, if the "helmet for Europe" has not yet been manufactured, all measures for it have been taken in any case.

But what has been said refers only to the visible part of the West European militaristic iceberg. The plans for military construction are aimed in the final analysis at the creation of a single "European Army", at the establishment, with its assistance, of a "European support of NATO".

Today the idea of the merging of the missile and nuclear potentials of France and Great Britain and the formation of united nuclear forces as a leading military and strategic component of the "European Army" is again being whipped up persistently. West German militarists are straining for their leadership. Coveting access to the nuclear arsenal, in which, according to their calculations, there must be no less than 1,200 warheads, the leaders of the CDU/CSU do not grow tired of recalling the fact that in military respect the FRG supposedly belongs to the "powers of the third category". Judging by everything, the leadership of the West European Union is inclined toward the idea of the creation of a missile and nuclear triumvirate consisting of France, Great Britain and the FRG, which they want to call the Security Council.

Rapid deployment forces may become the basis of the "European Army". Such forces, consisting of five divisions and numbering 47,000 men, have been formed in France. They include airborne and armored troops and operational helicopters. Although France formally does not belong to the military organization of NATO, it plans to utilize these forces in the composition of the first echelon of the united armed forces of the bloc. The transfer of the French troops will be covered from the air by the military air forces of the FRG, in which the NATO press sees a concrete example of the realization of military integration on the field of battle. Rapid deployment forces numbering 10,000 men each are being formed in Italy and Great Britain. These formations can also be used as a "fire-fighting team" of neocolonialism.

Western military observers think that the total number of the future "European Army" already at first will reach 500,000 men. The FRG and France alone will contribute about 30 divisions to it. As far as the creation of Union organs of military command and administration and the solution of other organizational questions is concerned, in the opinion of the militarists, they will not hold things up, provided that the servicemen of different nationalities cease to look at one another "as foreigners" and all consider themselves as "Europeans".

In bourgeois propaganda, the military-political integration of the EEC is at times represented almost as a revolt of the West Europeans against American domination in NATO. This is nothing else than an attempt to play on the patriotic feelings of the population and servicemen of the countries of the Common Market and thereby to promote the pushing through of the integration plans. You see, the militarization of Western Europe is being carried out with the blessing and with the direct support of Washington, which sees in it still another way of forcing the preparation of a new world war.



Indeed, the participants of the Common Market faithfully assure the American administration of their devotion to NATO" and their determination to strengthen the alliance relations with the United States and represent the American military presence as the foundation of the security of Western Europe. For its part, the U.S. State Department welcomed the decision taken by the "seven" in Rome to undo the fly-wheel of the military machine of the West European Union. It is impossible, finally, to drop from the calculations the fact that almost all participants in the EEC are members of the European group of NATO. And here, under the NATO banner, they contribute their mite to the increase of aggressive military preparations.

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The question of the capitalist unification of Europe has its prehistory. Already in 1915, V. I. Lenin, in his work "On the Slogan of the United States of Europe", gave an assessment of its class essence. Having noted that a United States of Europe under capitalism is either impossible or reactionary, Lenin pointed out: "Of course, temporary agreements are possible between capitalists and between states. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the European capitalists. . . about what? Only about how jointly to suppress socialism in Europe, how jointly to protect the plundered colonies. . . ." (Poln. sobr. soch. [Complete Collected Works], Vol 26, p 354).

This assessment by Lenin fully retains its current importance. And today the West European capitalists unite in order--already together with American imperialism--jointly to oppose socialism and the national liberation movement and to perpetuate the capitalist order which has become historically obsolete. To transform the EEC into a "superstate"--that is the cherished goal which its leaders have set for themselves. The creation, in Europe, of a new imperialist bloc as an adjunct to NATO--this, in present-day conditions--is the next attempt of world imperialism to change in its favor the military-strategic equilibrium that has developed between the countries of the Warsaw Pact and the states of the aggressive Northatlantic bloc.

The military-political integration of the EEC, which is disguised by its followers with defense terminology and false "concern for peace", is not weakening, but is increasing the danger of the unleashing of a new war by the imperialists.

The Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries occupy fundamentally different initial positions in European policy. In the Program of the CPSU (new edition) it is emphasized: "The CPSU attaches great importance to the further development of peaceful good neighbor relations and cooperation of the states of Europe. An integral condition for the stability of positive processes in this, as well as in other regions, is respect for the territorial-political realities that have developed as the result of the Second World War."

Europe is our common house, and the guarantee of security in it is a task of paramount importance. Security here, as in the world as a whole, can be attained only following the path of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the strengthening of trust, and the development of international cooperation.

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## EASTERN EUROPE

### DISCUSSION OF GDR PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI in Russian No 2, 1986 pp 155-157

[Article by N. Sokolskaya, Institute of General History of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Patriotism and Proletarian Internationalism"]

[Text] Questions of the history of World War II, the fight against Fascism, the formation and strengthening of the world socialist system, the creation and development of the GDR and its cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries comprise the pivotal point of programs for annual scientific conferences organized under the aegis of the Commission of Historians of the USSR and the GDR.

The discussion at its XXXIV Conference (Yerevan, 11-13 October 1985) of the subject "Patriotism and Proletarian Internationalism During the Years of the Great Patriotic War and the Subsequent Period" made it possible to consider these problems from an extremely important and timely perspective.

Representative delegations from the two countries participated in the conference. They were headed by the cochairmen of the commission, the director of the Institute of Military History of the MO SSSR, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, P. Zhilin, and the president of the GDR Society of Historians, Academician G. Scheel.

At the plenary session the main paper on the subject of the meeting was given by P. Zhilin. Papers were also given by Soviet historians: A. Mikhaylov--"Proletarian Internationalism and the World Revolutionary Process," G. Avetisyan and K. Simonyan--"The Contribution of the Armenian People to the Victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945," and historians from the GDR: H. Heerdegen--"Internationalism--the Basis of the Policy of the SED," G. Dikmann--"The Military Alliance of the CPSU and the SED--the Major Force in Cooperation Between the USSR and the GDR."

The speakers comprehensively elucidated the theoretical-methodological, general historical and practical-political aspects of the subject. They disclosed the social-class conditioning of internationalism and patriotism. They characterized the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism, which include both revolutionary solidarity and a recognition of the complete independence and equal rights of all detachments of the world labor and

communist movement as well as their Marxist-Leninist parties. These principles are now being realized most completely in the relations among countries of the socialist community, including between the CPSU and the SED and the peoples of the USSR and the GDR. The unification of their efforts has become a decisive factor in the progress of each country and the strengthening of the common positions of socialism in the world. This strengthens the organic connection between socialist internationalism and socialist patriotism.

As the speakers pointed out, under modern conditions the work of historians becomes more significant when it comes to studying, generalizing and publicizing the historical experience in the establishment of a new type of international relations within the framework of the world socialist system. In conjunction with representatives of associated disciplines historians must deepen the development of theoretical and practical questions related to the processes and mechanisms of the formation and strengthening of the internationalist awareness of the masses and the eradication of nationalist attitudes and prejudices. Historians can do a great deal to make sure that in the minds of the younger generation a love for progressive, revolutionary traditions is combined with a devotion to the ideals of socialism and pride in the achievements of the world socialist community. Carrying out this large task presupposes a comprehensive study of the traditions of the international fight against fascism and the experience in constructively combining national and international interests of the fraternal countries during the course of socialist construction.

Sections for two main subjects were working at the conference. In the first section they discussed the traditions of the international ties between the workers of the USSR and Germany during the years of the Great Patriotic War. In their papers the Soviet scholars (B. Tupolev, M. Semiryaga, Ye. Kulkov) characterized the efforts of the USSR for consolidating all antifascist forces, the sociopolitical sources of its victory over German fascism and the international essence of the liberation mission of Soviet Armenia during the years of the Second World War. It was emphasized that, having defended the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland, the Soviet fighting men at the same time honorably fulfilled their international duty with respect to nations of Europe that been enslaved by Hitlerism, including the German people.

In the section they generalized new materials concerning the history of the antifascist Resistance movement in Germany. These materials corroborate the conclusion that the major force in the movement were the German communists who acted in the spirit of the best traditions of the German working class. The antifascist Resistance movement in Germany was a specific form of class struggle and a popular front under war conditions. It was at the same time an organic part of the international Resistance movement and had a clearly marked international nature. Participants in the section unmasked attempts on the part of bourgeois historians of the FRG to distort the nature and denigrate the significance of the struggle of the German communists against Hitlerism. The main paper was given by G. Scheel and statements were made by Soviet historians B. Zabarko, D. Melnikova and G. Sapozhnikova.

A considerable amount of interest was aroused by the papers given by W. Wolf (GDR) and V. Semin (USSR) which were devoted to the activity of the National Committee, "Free Germany." Using a wealth of factual material they showed how patriotism and proletarian internationalism were combined in the activity of this organization on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War. Participants in the section emphasized that the National Committee "Free Germany" occupied an important position in the history of the German antifascist movement.

Participants in the second section considered from the standpoint of the theme of the conference the history of relations between the USSR and the GDR. The realization of the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism in these relations was demonstrated on the basis of a concrete historical analysis of the content and forms of cooperation between the CPSU and the SED, the USSR and the GDR in various periods and in all the main areas of social life--political, economic, defense, cultural and so forth. Papers were given by the Soviet historians A. Zavyalov and L. Lebedev and the GDR scholars G. Metner and H. Schuzler.

Participants in the section devoted special attention to questions of the interactions between the USSR and the GDR in the struggle for peace and security, for detente in Europe and against the renewal of militarism and revanchism in the FRG (D. Davidovich and F. Novik, USSR; P. Huebner and U. Lebel, GDR). The speakers pointed out that under the conditions of the aggravation of the international situation the significance of this cooperation has increased. It is a stable link in the union of states of the socialist community which is based on the time-tested Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism.

The next conference of the Commission of Historians of the USSR and the GDR will be devoted to the 100th anniversary of the birth of that great son of the German people, the ardent revolutionary Ernst Telman.

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EASTERN EUROPE

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PZRP, CHURCH DISCUSSED

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 19, 6-12 May 86 p 2

[Unattributed report: "PZRP and Religion"]

[Text] The Polish weekly "Arguments" has published an article "On the Relationship of the PZRP to Religion" which examines the party's policy regarding religion and believers, including those in the ranks of the PZRP itself. We present here an exposition of this article.

A Marxist party, points out the weekly, is a political organization which has been called upon to carry out the socialist reconstruction of society. And it can fulfill this task only in cooperation with millions of workers, the majority of whom in Poland are believers.

The religiosity of the working masses, as a rule, does not have the form of a fully formed world view and does not always respond to the principles of the church's social doctrine. At the same time one must take into account that institutions of worship do everything possible to make a religious world view influence people's positions in social and political life.

Party's Relationship to the Church

This relationship is too complex to define in any unilateral way. On the one hand, the church is an institution which serves to satisfy religious needs; on the other hand, it is an institution which brings pressure to bear on social life in keeping with its own principles. In this role the church acts as a special social force, using religious feelings for non-religious, political aims.

A Marxist party and a socialist state respect the religious feelings of believers and guarantee the legal defense of their ritual observations, do not interfere with the internal affairs of the church, and grant the opportunity for the free organization of religious practice and clerical activity as long as this activity does not violate any existing laws. At the same time, the party opposes religious propaganda with its own program of educating its members in the spirit of a scientific world view and socialist morality. Moreover, the party adheres to the principle of the separation of religious activity from the activity of the state and its institutions.

The party puts forward no demands that church activity be limited within a narrowly religious framework. It only requires that the non-religious activity of the Roman Catholic church not undermine the principles of socialist construction and not violate any state laws.

The party and the socialist state have a principally different relationship toward activity carried out in the name of the church, but which undermines the bases of construction and which runs counter to state policy. And sanctions adopted to suppress this activity are not directed against the church but against an oppositional political force.

#### ...And Workers Who are Believers

The weekly notes that a Marxist party's critical attitude toward religion does not signify a negative attitude toward believers. Such a position would be grossly incorrect. In subordinating the struggle for a scientific world view to the struggle for socialism, the party strives to unite people on the basis of their common class interests.

In the political sphere, communists advance and implement the principle of the unity of believers and non-believers in the process of socialist construction for the sake of higher common national interests. The differences in world view in this case are less substantive. For people's attitude toward socialism, social duty, and work is more important.

In the sphere of ideology, the party regards the spread of a scientific world view as one of its most important tasks. The humane program for liberating man from the influences of religious beliefs has always been interpreted by Marxists as one of several conditions for man's complete liberation. However, it has never been regarded independently from other tasks of socialist construction. The propaganda of scientific views must, in addition, be free of simplifications and must not offend religious feelings or create antagonistic contradictions in society.

#### Believers in the Ranks of PZRP

Coming to the problem of believers in the ranks of the party, the weekly emphasizes that, unlike the state, the party cannot regard religious beliefs as its members' own personal business. Upon joining the party, people pledge to deepen their knowledge, raise the level of political consciousness, and acknowledge the theory of Marxism-Leninism as the basis of their world view. Nevertheless, the party still has believers.

The PZRP proceeds on the assumption that the criteria for membership in the party must be primarily political: an acknowledgment of the party's program, active political work, and the conscientious fulfillment of one's professional duty. With a view to the present situation in Poland in regard to religious faith and the goals and tasks which the party faces, PZRP does not emphasize an atheistic position in its charter. It accepts into its ranks people who acknowledge its political program and voluntarily pledge themselves to carry it out.

At the same time, the inculcation of materialistic principles is an important task which the party carries out in its ideological-educational work.

It is a different matter when party members' beliefs hinder them from carrying out party assignments or lead them to actions which contradict the party program.

More stringent demands are made on the active members of the party. These people are expected to have a fully formed materialist world view. For the results of educational efforts to deepen the socialist consciousness of all party members and of the whole society depend, to a large extent, on the position of those whose political activity is directly connected to the education of the masses in the spirit of a scientific materialist world view.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### LATIN AMERICA INSTITUTE HEAD VOLSKIY ON RECENT, FUTURE RESEARCH

Moscow NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 86 pp 17-29

[Article by V.V. Volskiy, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Main Directions in Studies on Latin America"]

[Text] Under present conditions, when the 27th CPSU Congress has targeted the Soviet people on solving the complex and large-scale tasks of perfecting socialism, the role and importance of the social sciences are growing even more. And the demands made of them are also growing. The party stresses that a new and significantly higher level must be insured in ideological-theoretical work in the area of the social sciences and in the activity of our scientific institutions and of each scholar individually. In all fields of science it is essential to effect a decisive turnabout toward realistic, practical tasks, toward new urgent and important problems.

It is emphasized in the new edition of the CPSU Program that the attention of social scientists must be focused on the study and comprehensive analysis of experience in world development, the creation of a new society in the USSR and the other socialist countries, the dialectic between production forces and production relations and the material and spiritual spheres under the conditions of socialism, and the law-governed patterns in establishing the communist system and the ways and means for gradual advance to its higher phase. Special note is made of the need to make a deep study of the processes taking place in the communist, workers' and national-liberation movements and in capitalist society. The course of world development is posing for mankind many questions of a global nature. Scientific thought must provide the correct answers to these questions. One important task for the social sciences has been and remains the struggle against bourgeois ideology, revisionism and dogmatism.

Priority attention must be given to the methodological aspects of research. This is, first and foremost, the reliance on reality, and the more complete consideration and revelation of the objective laws of social development. The scientific institutions are called upon to focus their efforts more flexibly and immediately on the most urgent questions, be skillful in the application of Marxist-Leninist methodology in the scientific quest, and be solicitous of its world-outlook preciseness.



Soviet Latin American scholars, particularly the large detachment working in the USSR Academy of Sciences Latin America Institute, have adopted the results of the 27th CPSU Congress and the new edition of the Party Program confirmed by the congress, as a guide to action.

At the same time, further advance requires careful consideration of the path already trod, a summing up of its results, and the precise formulation of specific scientific tasks.

The all-union center for Soviet Latin American studies--the USSR Academy of Sciences Latin America Institute--was set up on the basis of a decision of the USSR Academy of Sciences on 28 April 1961. The new institute was assigned the task of studying the economic, sociopolitical and foreign policy problems in the development of the countries of Latin America, and also relations between the USSR and Latin American states. The Latin America Institute was also set practical tasks: to help in establishing and developing links with scientific centers and scholars in Latin America.

The creation of the Latin America Institute in no way displaced Latin American studies being conducted in other scientific establishments. On the contrary, it stimulated their further development. The Latin America Institute was given responsibility for coordinating scientific research work on the problems of Latin America both at the level of the USSR Academy of Sciences and at the national level. Thanks to the constant concern of the party and the attention of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Latin American studies in the Soviet Union are being developed on a broad front and Latin American scholars have every facility for creative and fruitful work.

The work of Soviet Latin American scholars and historians working in the institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences--the institutes of general history, ethnography, and the international workers' movement--and the history department of the Moscow State University, has received serious recognition both within the USSR and abroad. Scholars from other institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences--the World Economics and International Relations Institute, the Economics of the World Socialist System Institute, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences--and the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Institute, the departments of economics and geography at the Moscow State University, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomatic Academy, and the associates at other scientific and training establishments, and also in practical organizations in Moscow and other cities, are successfully engaged in studies of the economic, sociopolitical and other problems of the region.

Dozens of books and hundreds of articles on the very varied problems of Latin America are published each year in the USSR. The history of countries in the region has been given attention in multivolume general works such as "Vsemirnaya istoriya" [World History], "Istoriya diplomatii" [The History of Diplomacy], "Mezhdunarodnoye rabocheye dvizheniye" [The International Workers' Movement] and "Voprosy istorii i teorii" [Questions of History and Theory]. More space is being given over to problems in the region in the scientific journals VOPROSY ISTORII, NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORII, MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, SShA: EKONOMIKA, POLITIKA, IDEOLOGIYA and

RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYIY MIR. Latin American studies are reflected in college publications. Since 1969 Latin American studies have had their own press organ--the journal LATINSKAYA AMERIKA--which since 1980 has been a monthly and is now published in Russian and Spanish.

In short, in our country the front of research on the problems of Latin America is so broad and the results so important that within the framework of journal articles it is impossible to deal adequately even with the main directions of this research. In this article we shall be covering only work done at the USSR Academy of Sciences Latin America Institute during the period 1980-1985 and the research now being conducted by the institute and its future planned research.

During the course of its activities the Latin America Institute has formed a new school of Soviet Latin America studies and has rallied about itself the scholars specializing in this field who are working in other scientific establishments and universities in the Soviet Union. The institute is engaged in a comprehensive study of the problems of the region in general and in individual countries, such as is demanded by the realities of life itself.

If we talk about the requirements for the study of Latin America on the scientific plane then we refer first and foremost to the need for an integrated examination of the peoples of Latin America as part of mankind, and the need to understand the features of the historical process and the law-governed patterns in the development of society in that part of the world.

The Cuban revolution posed all these questions in letters writ large. Like any great and truly popular revolution, it exerted enormous influence on the unfolding of events in other countries, first and foremost in Latin America, and resulted in further upsurge in the liberation movement and gave birth to new political forces and currents. Scholars faced the task of considering all these complex and important phenomena.

The Chilean revolution posed new and complex theoretical tasks. The peaceful road to socialism chosen by the Chilean people was the subject of intent study throughout the world, by both the friends and the enemies of the revolution.

Events in Latin America during the last decade have had major repercussions, particularly the triumphant Nicaraguan revolution, which still awaits careful analysis of the conditions of its victory and development prospects. Of course, making revolution is rather more complicated than interpreting it. However, incorrect conclusions drawn from the lessons of the revolution may do more than theoretical harm.

Even the few questions enumerated above, which undoubtedly do not exhaust the problems requiring theoretical elucidation, show that life itself is constantly setting complex and important new tasks for Latin America researchers.

If, however, we talk about the practical requirements in studying countries in the region then it can be asserted that the score for Latin America studies is increasing even more quickly. Let us start by saying that the number of

independent states in the region has grown from 20 to 33 during the last two-and-a-half decades, while the number of countries with which the Soviet Union maintains diplomatic relations has increased from 9 to 17. Relations of fraternal cooperation in the most varied fields have been developed between the USSR and socialist Cuba. Trade, economic, scientific and technical and cultural links between the Soviet Union and the other countries of Latin America are growing. Argentina and Brazil have become serious trading partners for the USSR, economic links with Peru and Colombia are being developed, there are prospects for the development of trade and economic and scientific and technical relations with Mexico, Venezuela, Bolivia and Uruguay, and all-around links have been forged with revolutionary Nicaragua. The states of Latin America display great interest in the experience gained in the USSR in developing science, culture and education. The Soviet Union has become a major partner for Latin America in training highly skilled specialists.

In turn, the flow of information about Latin America into the USSR is growing rapidly, and books by Latin American writers, scholars and public figures are being translated. High-level official delegations from Latin America are increasingly often guests of the Soviet state. The circle of Latin American countries with agreements on cultural and scientific and technical cooperation with the USSR is constantly expanding. None of these phenomena of everyday life could occur without the participation of science.

And there is at least one task for our Latin American studies that must be mentioned: satisfying the enormous interest of Soviet people in information about that distant region, the struggle of the peoples, the defeats and victories of democratic forces, and the past, present and future of the Latin American countries.

Responding to this interest the USSR Academy of Sciences Latin America Institute has published a two-volume encyclopedic handbook entitled "Latin America." [1] Although the Latin America Institute carried most of the load in preparing this book, which took more than 10 years, most of the leading Latin America scholars--about 300 authors, consultants and editors--also participated. There was virtually no major specialist on Latin American problems whose opinion was not considered in one way or another. Soviet readers have offered a high assessment of the book "Latin America": a 100,000 print run was quickly sold out. [2]

While trying to focus efforts on solving a number of the most urgent problems, the collective at the USSR Academy of Sciences Latin America Institute is conducting research along three main scientific avenues: a) the features in the development and crisis of capitalism in the Latin American countries; b) the law-governed patterns in the anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle; c) specific problems of the transition period in the countries of Latin America, namely Latin America in its present-day relations and Soviet-Latin American links.

The concentration of efforts along these avenues and work on the most urgent and complex scientific problems have required a significant improvement in the effectiveness and quality of work throughout the institute and the



implementation of a set of measures aimed at the successful completion of the stepped-up plans for scientific work.

A number of important studies have been conducted within the framework of the first avenue mentioned, namely, features in the development and crisis of capitalism in Latin American countries. Collective monographs have been published dealing with the development of capitalism and present-day economic and political problems in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, the Caribbean countries, and Colombia; and in the near future a book on the countries of Central America is to be published. [3]

The comprehensive collective monograph "Capitalism in Latin America. Essays on Its Genesis, Evolution and Crisis" [4] has revealed the general law-governed patterns in and the features of the development of capitalism in the region, using as an example the most developed states. Along with the genesis and evolution of capitalism, the authors have also examined its present stage of development. "The countries of Latin America," the monograph emphasizes, "traversed a long road of capitalist development under the conditions of dependence. In the final analysis it did lead to the accelerated growth of production forces and substantial shifts in their structure... At the same time this process was accompanied by the subjection of countries in the region to foreign economic domination, the plunder of national resources and deformation of economic development in the interests of the imperialist monopolies, and by increasing exploitation and unfair treatment of broad strata of the population on that continent." [5]

A series of collective [6] and individual [7] works published by the Latin America Institute during the last 5 years deals with various aspects of economic development in the region, in particular questions of industrial development, the activity of the state sector, demographic problems, and development in individual sectors of the national economies in the countries of Latin America. A comprehensive monograph entitled "Mezhdunarodnyye monopolii v stranakh Latinskoy Ameriki" [The International Monopolies in the Countries of Latin America], written by a collective of authors, has been prepared for publication.

Analysis conducted within the framework of the institute's economic studies enables us to formulate the following main scientific conclusions:

--the past decades have been marked by the accelerated development of capitalism in Latin America both in scope and depth, and by a noticeable expansion of the production potential, significant shifts in the sector and territorial structure of production, an intensification in the process of capital concentration and the more extensive participation of the state in economic life;

--one most important trend in economic development during the Sixties through the Eighties was the accelerated internationalization of economic life in the Latin American countries and their active involvement in new forms of economic relations with the developed capitalist countries, in particular on the basis of a new international capitalist division of labor;



--economic penetration of the region by international monopoly capital is becoming increasingly large-scale; this applies first and foremost to the transnational corporations, which are trying to seize commanding positions in the most dynamic sectors of the Latin American economy and are working actively with regard to association with large private local capital and the state sector. The intensity of economic exploitation in the countries of Latin America is growing, and this is promoting a further exacerbation of financial and economic difficulties. The foreign debt of countries in the region has reached unprecedented scales. According to figures from the UN Economic Commission on Latin America [8], by the beginning of 1985 it had topped \$360 billion [8];

--the factor of unevenness in development in the Latin American countries is acquiring a growing significance; and this can be seen, in particular, in their growing differentiation. Taking advantage of this circumstance, imperialism is trying to oppose joint efforts by Latin American and other developing states in their struggle to restructure international economic relations;

--dependent capitalist development is leading to a deepening of crucial socioeconomic contradictions in countries in the region (the sharp increase in inequality in terms of property, the deprivation of the overwhelming majority of the main mass of the population of access to the fruits of economic progress, and exacerbation of the unemployment problem, which in the final analysis lays the ground for intensified internal social tension). Notwithstanding, the main contradiction in present-day Latin America is the contradiction with imperialism. The role of the Latin American countries in the anti-imperialist struggle of the developing states is growing. At this stage the Latin American countries are becoming increasingly involved in the general anti-imperialist struggle by the states of the developing world, including in the important form of the nonaligned movement.

This range of problems will also be elucidated in studies at the institute. In 1985 a start was made on the preparation of a monograph entitled "Kapitalizm v Meksike: protivorechiya razvitiya" [Capitalism in Mexico: Contradictions in Development], and on new comprehensive studies on Bolivia, Uruguay and the Central American countries. Work on the problems dealt with in the collective monograph "Capitalism in Latin America. Essays on Its Genesis, Evolution and Crisis" will be continued and deepened.

During the 12th Five-Year Plan it is proposed to focus attention on studies of a number of poorly researched aspects of capitalism's development in Latin America (state capitalism, the nature of the reproduction process at the present stage). The new avenues associated with the need to study urgent problems include the following: critical analysis of present-day economic thinking in Latin America, consideration of new trends in the development of integration processes in Latin American countries, research on the experience gained in planning and organizing programs in the region. The plans for the Latin America Institute also include a collective monograph entitled "Latinskaya Amerika v sisteme imperialisticheskoy ekspluatatsii" [Latin America in the System of Imperialist Exploitation], in which a number of

questions that have not been dealt with in the Soviet scientific literature will be raised.

The special significance and great urgency of deep research into problems of the liberation struggle by the Latin American peoples predetermine the second most important avenue in the institute's scientific work, namely the law-governed patterns in the anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle and the specific problems of the transition period in the countries of Latin America.

In a two-volume collective work entitled "Marksizm-leninizm i revolyutsionno-osvoboditelnyye protsessy v Latinskoy Amerike" [Marxism-Leninism and Revolutionary-Liberation Processes in Latin America] (chief editor A.F. Shulgovskiy), prepared during 1985, special attention has been paid to analysis of the major Latin American revolutions (Guatemala, Bolivia, Chile and Nicaragua and the revolutionary process in Peru in the late Sixties and early Seventies) in the light of Marxist-Leninist teaching on revolution. A most important place has been assigned to study of the Cuban revolution and the Cuban communists' creative application of the theory of socialist revolution developed by Marxism-Leninism, under the specific conditions of their own country. The work examines problems concerning the theoretical development by Latin American communists of the main trends in the development of revolutionary-liberation processes in the regions, and analyzes the process of transforming the ideology of Marxism-Leninism into an important element of political culture and the spiritual life of the Latin American countries.

In 1985 the Latin America Institute published a collective monograph entitled "The Proletariat and the Revolutionary Process in Latin America" [9], in which a socioeconomic and political analysis is made of the Latin American proletariat and its formation at the present stage is shown, together with its growing role in economic and sociopolitical life and the liberation struggle and the role of the communist parties in the Latin American countries in the struggle for the unity of the working class. As the book notes, "the growing prestige and influence of communists and their bold and selfless struggle in defense of the vital interests of the broad masses make up the guarantee for success in the process of uniting the working class and all democratic forces."

A serious attempt to investigate the basic questions in the ideological struggle in the region has been made in a collective work entitled "Present-Day Ideological Trends in Latin America." [10] It shows the complex and diverse palette of ideological currents in the countries of Latin America and reveals their social and class content. Attention is paid mainly to a characterization of the social carriers of given trends and their use of these concepts in practical sociopolitical activity. In this work, as in a number of others [11], specific material is used to wage the struggle against bourgeois historiography with regard to questions of sociopolitical development in the countries of Latin America.

A collection of articles by Latin American scholars in the USSR and the GDR [12] has offered a thorough analysis of the ideology and policy of reformism in the Latin American workers' movement, the policy of parties of the social-democrat type, and Christian democracy and the Catholic Church, and the

populist and desarrolist variants of reformism are examined. Much attention is paid to the activity of the communist parties in unmasking the reformist concepts and to the communists' struggle for the unity of the workers' movement.

In-depth research into the varied sociopolitical processes developing in the region provides an opportunity to draw a number of conclusions of a fundamental nature.

First of all, it is obvious that in the sociopolitical sphere the struggle for renewed democracy and the liquidation of rightist authoritarian regimes and the defeat of the forces of fascistizing counterrevolution is being shifted increasingly clearly to the center of the liberation processes that are being developed in the countries of Latin America. Heterogeneous classes and political forces, acting with their own concepts of democracy, are taking part in this struggle. This question has been specifically analyzed in the collective monograph "Society's Political System in Latin America."

The increasingly active participation of the working class in liberation processes is exceptionally important for prospects in the struggle. This very participation on its present scales and forms has become possible as the result of qualitative shifts taking place in the structure of the working class, and also in the sphere of the consciousness of its individual detachments and their social and psychological lineament. Participation in the liberation processes by parties and movements of the social-democrat type, the Christian democrats and the masses of believers is imparting much that is unique. The victory of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua has clearly confirmed the important role of revolutionary democracy in the liberation processes and its ability in some cases to lead the revolutionary, anti-imperialist struggle.

Under present conditions the activity of the communist parties is acquiring special significance. In recent times many communist parties have made substantial amendments to their programs in order to reflect more deeply and adequately the essential nature of the socioeconomic and political changes taking place in the countries of the region. "The communist parties in the countries of Latin America," one collective study by the Latin America Institute emphasizes, "have defined in their program documents the aims and tasks of the revolutionary process and the nature of the radical changes and ways to accomplish them. Proceeding from the premise that dependence on U.S. imperialism, the lack of elementary democratic freedoms and the presence of precapitalist production relations in the countryside are typical features of the Latin American countries, the communist parties consider that the main task at this stage is to liquidate the domination of U.S. imperialism and the local oligarchy--the big trade and financial bourgeoisie and latifundists--and effect radical democratic revolutionary transformations." [13]

Very important changes are taking place in the sphere of ideological struggle. One special feature of this is the growing influence of the ideas of Marxism - Leninism on the spiritual life of the Latin American countries and the fact that broad circles of the Latin American public are being drawn into the sphere of their influence. Ideological questions have also been reflected in



a series of studies of culture in the countries of Latin America, published by the institute. During the period 1980-1985 it was augmented with books on the cultures of Mexico, Brazil, Ecuador, and Venezuela (chief editor V.A. Kuzmishchev). [14] Books on the culture of Bolivia and Uruguay will be next.

In 1983 the entire world celebrated the 200th anniversary of the birth of Simon Bolivar, the heroic leader of the struggle by the peoples of Spanish America for independence, outstanding general and state figure. The institute prepared for this jubilee the first Russian-language edition of selected works of the Liberator--the name under which Bolivar has gone down in the history of Latin America. [15]

Studies conducted in the field of the history and the present stage in the Latin American peoples' liberation struggle provide a basis for distinguishing the key problems that will be given priority in the work of the Latin America Institute in the years immediately ahead.

First of all, unremitting attention will be paid to analyzing new forms and methods in the struggle by the working class and to elucidating the relationship between deliberateness and randomness in the workers' movement. Naturally, these themes will be researched in close connection with questions concerning the allies of the proletariat. All this will make it possible to reveal the conditions and factors involved as the working class wins political, ideological and cultural hegemony.

Work continues on problems connected with analysis of the activity, programs and ideologies of social-democrat, and also Christian democrat, parties and movements. In the institute's plans an important place is assigned to studies of questions associated with the role of revolutionary democracy in the liberation movement and elucidation of the evolution of its ideological aims and concepts moving toward Marxism-Leninism. The Latin America Institute intends to deepen its study of questions concerning the role of religion in the Latin American countries and the participation of religious organizations in the liberation movement.

Analysis of the experience and problems of the communist movement in the countries of Latin America is of exceptional importance. It stresses in the new edition of the Party Program that the CPSU attentively studies the problems and experience of foreign communist parties. It is understanding of their desire to perfect their strategies and tactics, achieve the expansion of class alliances on a platform of antimonopoly and antiwar actions, and defend the economic interests and political rights of the workers, proceeding from the premise that the struggle for democracy is an integral part of the struggle for socialism. In their work, scholars at the Latin America Institute will be invariably guided by this important consideration.

In-depth work on these questions will be continued in the collective monograph "Kommunisty i revolyutsionnyy protsess v Latinskoy Amerike" [Communists and the Revolutionary Process in Latin America] and, in particular, in the two-volume institute study entitled "Problemy antiimperialisticheskoy borby v Latinskoy Amerike" [Problems of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle in Latin America]. This latter will be a major work during the 12th Five-Year Plan and



almost all scholars in the institute subdivisions will be participating. The book is to elucidate the cardinal problems of the present stage in the liberation movement by Latin American peoples and all the main aspects of the anti-imperialist struggle in the region. The institute regards this monograph as a concrete response to the demand of the party to deepen the study of the most important socioeconomic and political processes in Latin America and to offer a well-argued scientific assessment of the status of and prospects for the liberation struggle.

The increased attention being given to the study and criticism of present-day bourgeois, reformist and revisionist ideological concepts will be reflected in collective monographs entitled "Nemarksistskiye kontseptsii sotsialno-politicheskogo razvitiya stran Latinskoy Ameriki (kriticheskiy analiz)" [Non-Marxist Concepts of Sociopolitical Development in the Countries of Latin America (a Critical Analysis)], on which preparations were initiated in 1984, and "Kritika burzhuaiznykh kontseptsii stroitelstva sotsializma na Kube" [A Critique of Bourgeois Concepts of the Building of Socialism in Cuba], planned for 1985-1989.

A collective work entitled "Borba tendentsiy v sovremennoy kulture Latinskoy Ameriki" [The Struggle between Currents in the Present-Day Culture of Latin America], which has been included in the five-year plan, will occupy a special place in work on questions of ideology.

During the present five-year plan one new direction in studies conducted by the Latin America Institute will be the more in-depth study of the complex and little-studied economic and sociopolitical questions of the transition period, using material from Latin America. Work in this field has already started and by 1987 it is planned to have completed a collective monograph entitled "Problemy perekhodnogo perioda v stranakh Tsentralnoy Ameriki i Karibskogo basseyana" [Problems of the Transition Period in the Countries of Central America and the Caribbean].

One reflection of the growing role of the Latin American countries in world politics is the expansion within the Latin America Institute of the front of research within the framework of the third very important avenue, namely Latin America in its present-day relations, and Soviet-Latin American links.

In recent years the institute has published a number of works dealing with international problems. [16] A generalized analysis of these works has been provided in the two-volume collective monograph "Strany Latinskoy Ameriki v mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniyakh. XX vek" [The Countries of Latin America in Their International Relations. The 20th Century] (chief editor A.N. Glinkin), work on which was completed in 1985. The comprehensive study of a broad range of subjects has made it possible to formulate a number of important conclusions in this work.

First of all, it is shown in the study that during the 20th century the foreign policy activity of the countries of Latin America has undergone significant changes. Essentially, Latin America has ceased to be predominantly an object of world policy, which was its determining feature at the beginning of this century. "Fitting" the countries of the region into the

Procrustean bed of an inter-American system and the substantial isolation of those countries from the main events of international life and their subjugation to the "bloc diplomacy" of U.S. imperialism, which went on for many decades, are now things of the past. The role of a large group of states in the region in international relations is growing with each passing decade. The changes that have taken place are so great that they have now passed beyond the confines of some national or regional factor and are exerting a growing influence on the general situation in the present-day world.

An historically retrospective study of these trends, starting from the turn of the century, has made it possible to reveal the motive forces in the process of change, elucidate its parameters and determine the key, fundamental factors in its development, show specific examples of the growing role of Latin American countries in international relations and their contribution in solving the urgent problems of world politics, and outline the approaches making it possible to see the prospects for their behavior in the international arena in the years ahead.

The scientific results derived from the study indicate that the changing place and role of the Latin American countries in world politics are associated with the objective-historical process of the development of their production forces, the shifts in the social-class structure, the removal from power of the pro-imperialist oligarchies, the growing nationalist trends in the bloc of ruling circles, and the increased influence of the working masses and their organizations on the shaping of foreign policy courses. At the same time, the authors of the monograph have tried not to oversimplify the complicated mechanism whereby the influence of base-superstructure phenomena are mediated (via the class struggle and the clash of different social forces) in the field of foreign policy activity and international relations.

When considering the changes in the foreign policies of a large group of Latin American countries and the further assertion in them of components of an objectively anti-imperialist direction, it must be taken into account that the shaping and implementation of their foreign policy courses under present conditions are affected not only by the internal law-governed patterns in the development of Latin American societies but also by the radical changes in the world arena, which are characterized by a growing role for the USSR and the entire socialist community.

Within the framework of the system of links between the socialist states and Latin America a new type of relations is being asserted, increasingly determined by the law-governed patterns of socialism rather than capitalism. The political significance of this for the Latin American countries is determined by the fact that the socialist community supports their desire to achieve economic independence and play an active role in world politics. The Soviet Union has always been on the side of states and peoples that repulse the attacks of the aggressive forces of imperialism and defend their freedom, independence and national self-respect. In our times, too, solidarity with them is an important part of the general struggle for peace and international security. On this basis there has been an approximation of the positions taken by the socialist countries and a number of Latin American states

(Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Mexico, Nicaragua, Guyana) on many of the urgent questions of the times. [17]

Cuba exerts a great influence on the shaping of the international situation in the region. The strength of this country, which is small in terms of size and population and does not possess significant military or economic potential, lies in its high moral authority, its consistent foreign policy, its firm and principled line, based on proletarian internationalism and friendship and cooperation with the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, and its close ties of solidarity with the communist, workers' and revolutionary movements in all parts of the world. [18]

At the Latin America Institute special attention is paid to studies of the socioeconomic and political problems of Cuba--the first socialist state in the western hemisphere and a full member of the socialist community. A number of works have been written in cooperation with Cuban scholars. [19]

In Cuban foreign policy it is possible to trace a desire to unite with the countries of Latin America in cooperation between peoples who are giving birth to historical traditions and the joint struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism. Fraternal cooperation has been established between revolutionary Nicaragua and Cuba. Relations with Guyana are friendly in nature. Cuba provided much aid and support for the government of M. Bishop in Grenada, and links with Jamaica under the M. Manley government were active.

Thus, at the turn of the Eighties, within the region there was a trend toward rallying around socialist Cuba by governments and countries that had chosen a course of independent development. U.S. imperialism tried with all its might to oppose this progressive trend, including going as far as armed intervention, as was the case in Grenada. Notwithstanding, this trend, with many difficulties and temporary setbacks, is forcing its way along to its own future.

New features have been observed at the present stage in the historical opposition between the peoples and countries of Latin America and imperialism, first and foremost U.S. imperialism.

A study of the entire complex of relations between the Latin American countries and the United States shows that the opportunities available to U.S. imperialism for influencing the foreign policy of its neighbors to the south in the direction it wants are being substantially curtailed. This is explained both by the successes of the anti-imperialist movement and the consolidation of the international positions of states in the region thanks to the development of relations with the socialist world, the Afro-Asian countries and the nonaligned movement that are beyond the control of imperialism.

Since the early Eighties the Latin American states have been encountering a growing aggressiveness on the part of U.S. imperialism and its main NATO ally--Great Britain, which used armed force to keep a British colonial outpost in the South Atlantic. [20] As a result, tension has increased throughout Latin America and particularly in the Caribbean.



Having embarked on an anticommunist crusade, Washington has made serious efforts to involve as many Latin American states as possible in it. Perhaps for the first time in the more than one-and-a-half-century history of relations between the United States and its southern neighbors most of the Latin American countries have opposed Washington's interventionist policy, and have done so at the level of official foreign policy. They reject both the ideological postulates of the White House, which has tried unsuccessfully to explain the development of revolutionary processes in the region as "Soviet-Cuban interference" and to interpret them as a manifestation of the East-West confrontation, and the fact that the U.S. imperialists are staking their money on armed force. The activity of the Contadora group and the association of South American states in support of the group's efforts express the resolve of the peoples and governments in Latin America to achieve the settlement of conflicts that arise through peaceful, political means, and to defend the principles of noninterference and respect for the rights of each people to decide its destiny in its own way. [21]

Having dissociated themselves from the global strategy of U.S. imperialism and Washington's militarist course in the region, the main group of Latin American countries continue in the complex international conditions to speak out in favor of strengthening the conditions of the nonnuclear zone in Latin America, the restoration of Argentine rights in the Falklands (the Malvinas), now trampled underfoot, and the holding of international talks to establish a new international economic system. The Malvinas war and the U.S. intervention on Grenada shocked Latin America. Its peoples have now seen for themselves that at any moment imperialism may turn the might of its modern weapons on them, including nuclear weapons. There has been a shift in public awareness that has imparted new impulse to the antiwar movement in the region. A number of governments have officially called for an end to the arms race and the demilitarization of space, stressing that the fate of Latin America is "inextricably bound up with the preservation of international peace." The involvement of Latin American countries in the nonaligned movement has grown, as has their activity within the United Nations in the consideration of questions concerning saving mankind from nuclear catastrophe.

"Socialists," V.I. Lenin wrote, "have always condemned war between peoples as barbarous and brutal." [22] In Latin America there is a widening understanding of the peace-loving direction of the foreign policy of the countries of the socialist community, and this is creating good preconditions for cooperation between the USSR and other socialist countries with Latin American countries in the struggle to preserve the peace.

Analysis of long-term trends in the socioeconomic and political development of Latin American countries conducted at the Latin America Institute shows that the role of the main group of Latin American countries in the present-day world continues to grow even though the deterioration of the international situation and the increased aggressiveness in the policy of U.S. imperialism have created many complicated new problems and obstacles against the Latin American countries pursuing a sovereign foreign policy course.

All these and many other urgent problems require further in-depth study. During the period 1986-1990 the efforts of Latin America scholars will be



focused on preparing a number of original studies: "Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya v Tsentralnoy Amerike i Karibskom basseyne v 80-kh godakh" [International Relations in Central America and the Caribbean in the Eighties] (jointly with Cuban scholars), "Dvizhushchiye sily vneshney politiki stran Latinskoy Ameriki" [Motive Forces in the Foreign Policy of the Latin American Countries], "Militarizm, gonka vooruzheniy i problemy bezopasnosti v Latinskoy Amerike" [Militarism, the Arms Race and Problems of Security in Latin America]. Preparation of an institute monograph entitled "SSSR--Latinskaya Amerika: puti i perspektivy sotrudnichestva" [The USSR and Latin America: Ways and Prospects for Cooperation], in which all the main aspects of trade and economic, scientific and technical, political and cultural links between the USSR and states in the regions will be covered, is of great importance.

In work done at the Latin America Institute more attention will be paid to the holding of scientific conferences, symposia, and roundtable discussion (often jointly with the journal LATINSKAYA AMERIKA). Many of the conferences and symposia organized by the Latin America Institute have evoked broad response. Immediately following the conclusion of work by the 26th CPSU Congress a conference was held under the title "The Present Stage in the Liberation Movement in Latin America and the Tasks of Latin America Scholars," at which the leaders of a number of communist parties from countries in the region spoke. The conclusions drawn by the conference became an important ideological landmark in the activity of the Latin America Institute during the early Eighties. When the 27th CPSU Congress was doing its work, there was a scientific conference in which conference guests from the Latin American countries participated.

The scientific conference devoted to the 25th anniversary of Soviet-Cuban relations (May 1985) [23], organized jointly by the Latin America Institute and other establishments, created a great stir. Materials on the Soviet-Argentine scientific symposium organized by the Latin America Institute and the Buenos Aires Vittori Codovilla Center for Social and Economic Studies were published in both Argentina and the USSR. [24]

The development of international scientific ties is of great importance. The Latin America Institute maintains contacts with more than 300 scientific and educational centers abroad, and also with individual scholars in the countries of Latin America, Europe and the United States. The permanent foreign correspondents of the Latin America Institute include many major scientific institutes, universities, libraries and cultural centers in Cuba, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries, most of the states of Latin America and also France, the United States, England, Canada, Italy, the FRG, Norway, Sweden and others.

The institute is constantly expanding the sphere of its international scientific links effected in the most varied forms, and organizes conferences to which it invites scholars from abroad; and it prepares scientific works jointly with scholars from the Latin American countries.

Results from the work done by the Latin America Institute during the period 1981-1985 enable us to conclude that fundamental material has been accumulated

and substantial results achieved along a number of avenues of scientific study.

At the same time there are still many difficulties and shortcomings in the institute's activity. Sometimes our ideological adversary beats us to the punch in noting changes in the Latin American reality. The personnel problem remains acute and present-day requirements for the training of highly skilled specialists are not being met. Not all associates possess the necessary sense of what is new and fail to display the necessary initiative, and some are inclined to limit their work to analysis of problems of a narrow or partial nature. As a result, the research conducted by the Latin America Institute sometimes fails to cover fully the range of urgent Latin American problems. There is no justification for the fact that some important monograph studies remain for long periods in the publishing houses, as a result of which Soviet Latin America studies sometimes are not the first in elucidating from Marxist-Leninist positions the processes taking place in that region.

The collective at the USSR Academy of Sciences Latin America Institute recognizes the great responsibility that falls to it as the head center for Latin America studies in the USSR, and it is striving in its work to meet the stringent demands that have been imposed on the Soviet social sciences by the 27th CPSU Congress. The main thing is, through persistently overcoming existing difficulties and shortcomings, to improve the effectiveness of our studies and their theoretical significance and practical usefulness for the development of links between the USSR and the countries of Latin America. The scientific quest for the law-governed patterns of processes in social development is one way to mutual understanding between peoples and to peace in the world.

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## CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

### JAPAN'S DECISION ON SDI COOPERATION WITH U.S. ASSAILED

Kiev POD ZNAMENEM LENINIZMA in Russian No 4, Feb 86 pp 87-89

[Article by Valentin Sapronov, under the rubric "International Life": "The 'Yamato' Goes into Orbit: What Japan Is Seeking in the Pentagon's Space Ventures"]

[Excerpts] They found it on the bottom of the East China Sea, at a depth of 340 meters. "Undoubtedly, this is the 'Yamato'!", reported the commentator, his voice trembling with excitement, when the stern of the gigantic ship was shown on screens all across Japan. On the rusty metal one could still see distinctly at a glance the emblem of the emperor--the chrysanthemum.

An uninformed reader might ask why there is so much ado about this pile of old scrap metal. A representative of the organizing committee for the search for the battleship explained it all very frankly at a press conference: "We want to raise from the bottom, not merely the ship, but the spirit of Old Japan, whose time for rebirth has come." To the great disappointment of all the extremists and revanchists, the monster of the Imperial Navy appeared to be broken into three parts and its extraction to the surface remains questionable. As far as the notorious "spirit of Yamato" which it embodies goes, there have been no traces of it here. Ultrachauvinism and the insane ideas about the superiority of the "race of Yamato" over all other peoples are again being raised on high. Their proponents also demand corresponding heights for the nation's military might, including as high as space itself.

The Japanese Government intends to implement a program for armaments accumulation, which is supposed to go into effect in the 1986 fiscal year. This was announced in the parliament's Chamber of Counsellors by Prime Minister Y. Nakasone, having thus refused the opposition demand that he abandon the 5-year program, which provides for military purchases amounting to 18.4 trillion yen.

And the paths to a much faster achievement of the desired goal have been perceived in joining Reagan's "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI) or, in more understandable language, the "Star Wars" Program.

Even the White House passionately craves this. Is there a more important ally in its mad venture than Japan? Without the highly heat-resistant ceramics produced in its enterprises, not one of the multiple-use "Shuttle" craft would have returned to the ground. Other materials can not withstand the overheating

that occurs during entry into the dense layers of the atmosphere. Also needed by the Pentagon are the lasers, the optical fibers and the heat-beam-to-target missile guidance systems, developed [razrabotannyye] by the Japanese, as well as other electronics achievements, including the as-yet-not-created [sozdan-nyye] fifth generation computers. In other words, everything which is capable of making "Star Wars" a reality sooner.

This is why various agents and whole delegations of Pentagon experts have become frequent visitors to the Japanese Islands from across the ocean. They carry with them lists of goods for the American space-based ABM systems and for communications with spy and killer satellites in the EHF band.

At the end of March, 1985, Caspar Weinberger, the US secretary of defense, sent an official invitation to the Japanese Government for the purpose of drawing Japan into Reagan's "Star Wars" Program. As if it were an ultimatum, there was even a period indicated for reflection--60 days.

And Tokyo kept completely within this period. On 28 May 85, Shintaro Abe, the nation's minister of foreign affairs, speaking to a meeting of the Government Council for Maintenance of Overall Security, declared that the Japanese Government had decided to take a "cautious position" with respect to participation in the SDI.

Ignorant Japanese closed their eyes tightly in expectation of thunder and lightning from the other side of the Pacific Ocean. But nothing of the sort followed. Apparently, such an answer suited everyone in Washington. And why not? Indeed, even in January, 1985, at a meeting with President Reagan, Japanese Prime Minister Y. Nakasone spoke with approval about the American plans for the militarization of space and the creation [sozdaniye] on this basis of an ABM system.

Then Nakasone set to work on the Japanese Parliament's deputies and in June of the same year gave permission to private Japanese companies to participate in the development [razrabotka] of the American space weapons. "The Cabinet of Ministers will not hinder them," it was declared in a statement on this matter by the Japanese minister of foreign affairs, which was published by the newspaper "TOKYO SHIMBUN."

Briefly, Washington will receive the new technical inventions for its own armored starships. And there is nothing secret about it, rather it is being done on a solid contract basis. Indeed, since November, 1983, Japan has been tied to the United States by an agreement on collaboration in the field of military technology. For this reason the matter of official agreement on participation in "Star Wars" is considered to be secondary in Tokyo. Especially since such an agreement would cause unfavorable repercussions around the world and in the Japanese Islands themselves and these would be mere hindrances to the matter.

Japanese American mutual military and space collaboration is already in full swing. The University of Osaka is helping the American center in Los Alamos to do research on laser beams. Work is also being conducted on the creation [sozdaniye] of a particle-beam weapon, essentially a stream of protons, elec-

trons or neutrons being used. The main component here is a magnetic unit from the Japanese firm, "Hitachi Magnetics." Representatives from both nations are jointly studying neutron streams and laser beams in the widely reknown Lawrence Laboratories in Livermore, California.

On 27 Apr 85, in Tokyo, there was a ceremonial signing of a protocol regarding scientific and technical collaboration between Japan and the US for 1985-1986, according to which Japan will take part in the creation [sozdaniye] of an American orbital station. Specifically, they will take on the development [razrabotka] and creation [sozdaniye] of one of the modules. In the budget for this year, 1.4 billion yen have already been allocated, and in all the Japanese taxpayer is faced with paying out 200 to 300 billion yen for these purposes.

Nakasone's government, it is true, hastened to declare that this work, as they put it, is in no way related to "Star Wars." But the Pentagon is not concealing the fact that it needs the station as a "Space Headquarters" and a repair and maintenance base for military satellites that have been placed into orbit. Indeed, the very realization of the project is being carried out under its guidance, states the newspaper "MAINICHI."

It is typical that nearly a year before the signing of the agreement mentioned, a number of leading Japanese concerns created [sozdavat'] their own "committees for planning a space base." Whereas previously Japan's big business had to overcome misgivings about sending their new inventions across the ocean--would this not undermine its position in the competitive struggle?--then, now, it seems, similar doubts have receded on the second plan. First, because the monopolists saw in the so-called "Strategic Defense Initiative" a faster path towards the creation [sozdaniye] of their own ultramodern weapons. Second, having begun with a transfer of technology, Japan's military-industrial complex is hoping to break the existing ban on the export of all kinds of armaments and military materiel.

For the time being the expansion of the Japanese monopolies has not yet entered upon this path. And if it does? As local economists have calculated, the breakdown of the barriers in the path of exports abroad of weapons would allow Japan in the very near future to supply the world market with nearly 60 percent of the combat vessels, 46 percent of the military means of conveyance, 40 percent of the military electronics and up to 30 percent of the aerospace industry products.

Collaboration on near-earth orbits between the Pentagon and Japan's Defense Agency (JDA) has begun. In the budget for the current fiscal year (which began on 1 Apr 86), 168 million yen have been allocated for equipping Japanese combat vessels with devices for receiving signals from the American "Fleetsat" military satellite. Via the space communication the Japanese Navy will receive information from the US on the strategic situation in the Far East. The Japanese communications satellite, "Sakura-2," has been placed at the disposal of the JDA.

And what is more, the militarists and several members of the nation's ruling Liberal Democratic Party are insisting on the creation [sozdaniye] of their own



reconnaissance satellites for gathering information on the USSR's Armed Forces. In carrying out similar military preparations associated with space, Tokyo is defying the resolution adopted by the nation's parliament in 1969 regarding the use of space exclusively for peaceful purposes.

At the same time, it is necessary to note that previously many people in Japan supposed that "Star Wars," if not a utopian concept, was, it seemed, a matter of the very distant future. A number of the projects appear to be too technically complicated. But on 28 Jun 85, it became clear to the Japanese that this was not the case by far. As the newspaper "AKAHATA" reported, on the American airbase on Okinawa, the latest electronics equipment for re-equipping the F-15 fighter planes, making them over into satellite interceptors, has been delivered. The two-stage ASAT system anti-satellite missiles will be fitted on them and these can also be used for intercepting ballistic missile warheads. And there are 72 such aircraft in all on Okinawa.

Having scattered 140 of its own military bases and sites around the Land of the Rising Sun, as well as nearly 50,000 servicemen, Washington has converted Japan into one of its own strategic spring-boards, which is dangerous not only for Japan, but for all the nations of the region as well.

And it is no accident that today above the columns of demonstrators and at meetings of Japanese supporters of peace, alongside the banners stating "No to the Tomahawks!," stand ones with the slogan "No to 'Star Wars'!" The notorious American "initiative" is no less dangerous than the cruise missiles deployed near the shores and in the ports of Japan. "The SDI runs counter to our hopes for saving the earth from all means of mass destruction based on splitting the atom," declared S. Kawasaki, a professor of the University of Chiba, at an international symposium of scientists "For the Total Banning and Elimination of Nuclear Weapons," which took place in Tokyo at the end of July, 1985. Reagan's program, in his words, is a new "Manhattan Project" (in the course of which the atomic bomb was created [sozdan]--author's note), intended to enable the US to acquire the capability to deliver a nuclear first strike with impunity.

The playing up of Nakasone's cabinet to the orbital ventures was condemned by the communist deputy, Hiroshi Tachiki, speaking in the upper chamber of parliament. Such a position by the government, he reminded, directly contradicts the parliamentary resolution on the use of space exclusively for peaceful purposes. The Japanese CP member of parliament demanded that a ban be imposed on any participation by Japanese corporations in the work on weapons for the SDI and on placing the corresponding technology at the Pentagon's disposal.

Japan is not a newcomer to space research. It became the fourth space power after the USSR, the US and France, when, on 11 Feb 70, the "Lanoda-4S5" rocket placed the Japanese satellite, "Osumi," into a near-earth orbit. Since then quite a few devices have been launched, not just research satellites, but also meteorological and communications-relay satellites as well.

The first launch of the new generation of N-2 rockets is planned for 1992. It is capable of lifting an effective load weighing up to two metric tons. This is adequate for a manned space flight around the earth or for dispatching

lighterweight craft to Mars, Jupiter or Venus. Thus, Japan's scientists are facing good prospects for activities in the use of space for the good of humanity, including the Japanese people.

In the headquarters buildings of the nation's largest concerns they are also talking as if participation in the SDI will yield new inventions for this noble purpose. It is possible that peaceful space research will indeed get some kind of crumbs from the grand table. But many billions and even trillions [of yen], which will be absorbed by the space arms race, will be extorted from them for these crumbs. The Japanese military-industrial complex and as it turns out. the government do not begrudge such sums.

Of course, the launching into space of the restored battleship "Yamato" will take place only in the lunatic minds of the militarists. But the path to the transformation of Japan into a leading military power is not as long as it may seem. According to the information of foreign economists, Japan will be able to increase the output of weapons of death in very brief periods by a factor of 3 to 5 over current levels. According to Japanese sources, 12 to 15 months are sufficient for Japan to set up the production of missiles and nuclear weapons.

The horrors of the last war and of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are still fresh in the memories of many Japanese. According to information from a recent poll, conducted by the prime minister's office, 72 percent of the populace opposes increasing military expenditures.

But in Tokyo, evidently, they have forgotten the lessons of the past and have decided to count on educating the new generation, not burdened by the memory of the last war, in the spirit of militarism. Thus, in this year the nation's Ministry of Education has removed from school textbooks the last remnants of the truth about the marauding wars of the Japanese Empire. Now everything there will appear much simpler: Japan, supposedly, simply had to go to war in Asia and the Pacific Ocean. Even the specter of the battleship "Yamato" has been connected to the education of the little children in the "traditional spiritual values" (Prime Minister Nakasone's expression--author's note).

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM SAID TO POSE DANGER FOR REGION

Moscow GUDOK in Russian 22 May 86 p 3

[Article by V. Begishev under the rubric "International Notes": "Bomb on the Horizon?"]

[Text] The problem of a Pakistani atomic bomb is like a ship sailing through the waves on the horizon which at times is hidden from view of the world public, then becomes visible again, but never ceases to be a disquieting factor. India has long and continuously displayed concern about the secret work being conducted at the nuclear facilities in this country. At the end of April, Prime Minister R. Gandhi again reported to Parliament that information available to the Indian government indicated that Islamabad had not abandoned the creation of its own atomic weapon, and the Indian minister of external affairs, B. R. Bhagat, stated that this would lead to "qualitative changes in the area of security in the region."

But it is not only a matter of this. Many observers believe that Pakistan could become the conduit through which such weapons or the technology to manufacture them could flow into the developing countries, most of all the Islamic world.

Pakistan began to carry out its program a long time ago. According to Western press reports, the decisive step was taken back in 1972. After 3 years of study in West Germany and the Netherlands, and having obtained access to the uranium enrichment factory of the Dutch URENKO Company, the Pakistani Abdul Kadir Khan slipped away to his homeland, having first learned the design of Dutch and West German gas centrifuges in which uranium enrichment was carried out. He seized the drawings and a secret listing of suppliers of equipment and materials necessary for such production. Since then, as the newspapers in various countries, from India to the U. S., reported, the matter moved forward quickly, and already in June 1978 Khan reported about initial successes in obtaining the "real product." In early 1984 he reported that the production of enriched uranium had been set up, and President Zia-ul-Haq confirmed his words. The only thing not said was to what extent the enriched, or "weapons quality" metal had to be richer in isotope 235 than that used in atomic energy reactors.

Recently the West German journal STERN reported that in 1981 and 1982 Pakistan, through a Turkish firm, obtained access to important American technological secrets, and acquired 32 hemispheres of a special steel, similar to those into which the nuclear explosive is placed in atomic bombs. In September 1984, in the American city of Houston, a Pakistani citizen was arrested attempting to remove from the U. S. illegally 50 high-acceleration electronic switches (kritrons). Zia-ul-Haq gave his own explanation of this incident: the kritrons were necessary...to equip flashing lights for first aid vehicles.

Washington's position with respect to the Pakistani nuclear program is very ambiguous. On the one hand, writes STERN, the United States wishes to strengthen Pakistan's military might, especially considering its role in the anti-Afghan campaign. On the other hand, it is concerned that "radical Islamic regimes" not obtain access to atomic weapons with assistance from Islamabad. This is the reason for the ambiguity. On the one hand, Washington delivers F-16 aircraft to Pakistan which are capable of carrying such weapons, and on the other hand it issues warnings. From time to time high U. S. government representatives (for example, President Reagan in last October's interview by the TIMES OF INDIA) stated that the U. S. does not believe that Pakistan's nuclear program has a military thrust.

All of this engenders well-justified doubts in Delhi. The Indian newspaper PATRIOT wrote soon after the interview: "Despite the fact that Pakistan -- and this is no longer a secret to anyone in the world -- is secretly obtaining from other countries both the technology and raw materials for implementing its nuclear weapons production program, the American administration stubbornly "does not see" this; so stubbornly that the question arises as to whether this program has received Washington's blessing." In either case, if the Pakistani atomic bomb becomes a reality, the U. S. and many other Western countries will find it difficult to avoid responsibility for its appearance.

Today, according to STERN, the situation is thus: According to information from Western intelligence services, in proximity to the Pakistan atomic center the uranium-235 content in the dirt is approximately 30 percent higher than normal. This means that the factory in (Kakhut) will be able by next year at the latest to produce 10 kilograms annually of uranium explosive -- the amount necessary for one bomb.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY'S SCHISM, NEED FOR UNITY DESCRIBED

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 19, 6-12 May 86 pp 4-5

[Article by V. Vykhukholev: "Indian Communists: On the Path to Unity"]

[Text] Please tell why there are two communist parties in India. What is the difference between them? G. Arustamov, Lyubertsy, Moscow Oblast.

In 1964 a split took place in the Indian Communist movement which did serious harm to the entire leftist and democratic movement in the country. One of the main reasons for the split was the sharp exacerbation of differences among leading figures in the single Communist Party of India (KPI) on several of the most important questions of its tactics and practical activity (assessing the role of the Indian national bourgeoisie; the class nature of the present Indian state; relations with the ruling party, the Indian National Congress (INK) and the Indian government; and prospects for the further development of the country's leftist and democratic movement).

Another important factor which caused the split was direct interference by the then Maoist leadership of the Chinese Communist Party [CCP] in the internal affairs of Indian communists and its desire to establish organizationally a group of its adherents in India during the polemic within the international Communist movement which had developed in those years.

The delimitation in the ranks of Indian communists was sharp and painful. It had a grave affect on the activity of trade union, peasant and other mass organizations, which in the late 1960's and early 1970's also experienced a split.

As for the KPI, it essentially split into two approximately equal parts (approximately 100,000 members each) which immediately began to oppose one another and started a sharp polemic on many questions of theory and practical activity.

Two Parties -- Two Positions

Thus, two independent communist parties appeared in India: the Communist Party of India (KPI) and the Communist Part of India (Marxist) -- the KPI (M).

In 1964 both parties adopted party programs at their congresses, which continue in effect to this day.

The KPI Program gives a detailed analysis of India's socio-economic development. It defines the present stage of the revolution as anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic. The program poses the task of creating a national democratic front and a state of national democracy, and of shifting to a non-capitalist developmental path. "The National Democratic Front" this program states, "Unites all the patriotic forces in the country, namely: the working class; all peasants, including rich peasants and agricultural workers; the intelligentsia and the non-monopolistic bourgeoisie. The alliance of workers and peasants is the foundation and nucleus of this front."

According to the opinion of the KPI, the National Democratic Front "need not necessarily have undivided supremacy of the working class, but it must not have undivided supremacy of the bourgeoisie," and its leadership "belongs to anti-imperialists and anti-feudal, anti-monopolistic forces."

The KPI (M), as is stated in its program, "taking into account the level of economic development of the country and the level of the political and ideological maturity of the working class and its organizations, puts forward to the people the direct task of creating a people's democracy, based on a coalition of truly anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces, led by the working class."

The KPI (M) Program asserts that during the course of creating a state of people's democracy the "deposing of the current government and mandatory hegemony of the working class in the revolution" are inevitable. The KPI (M) leadership holds the point of view that the non-capitalist path of development and creation of a national democratic state "under Indian conditions are unrealistic."

After the 1964 split the KPI continued to remain an integral part of the international Communist movement, enjoying in it significant influence and authority. It took part in the 1969 International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties and repeatedly spoke up, along with the other fraternal parties, on the most important questions of our day, from positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The KPI maintains traditional strong fraternal ties with the CPSU and is in solid agreement with it on problems of world politics and the international Communist movement.

Development of the KPI (M) took place along much more difficult paths. Thus, in the first years of its existence it sided with the CCP on many issues and mainly favored pro-Beijing positions, placing itself virtually outside the international Communist and workers' movement. However, soon the development of events in the world and in India itself forced the party leaders to re-examine some of their views.

This inevitably caused sharp criticism from the CCP, and in 1969 yet another split took place within the KPI (M), when a group of open pro-Maoist figures left the party and called itself the Communist Party of India (Marxist-

Leninist). This was a numerically small, left-extremist party, which proclaimed as the basis of its activity arms struggle and "individual terror against representatives of the propertied classes." Very soon it disintegrated into a number of un-influential groupings and virtually ceased to exist.

In the early 1970's a difficult period of reassessing its policy ensued for the KPI (M). During this period the party leadership occupied a position of, so-called, "equidistance" from the CPSU and the CCP; however, influenced by events on the international arena, it was forced to come out in open criticism of the political policy of China. This was done at the 11th Party Congress in January 1982. "The Chinese leaders," it stated in the political resolution of the Congress, "concentrate their fire against the Soviet Union and support the U. S. in its actions and maneuvers aimed at achieving world supremacy."

In 1983 a representative delegation of the KPI (M) visited Beijing, and official inter-party ties were established. The two sides agreed to cease their open polemic, although it was emphasized that differences between the two parties remained.

In the early 1980's the KPI (M) actively supported the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union; demonstrated solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Angola, Kampuchea, Afghanistan and the Arab peoples; and criticized so-called "Euro-Communism." Changes also took place in the approach by the party leadership to many questions of the domestic political situation in India. After many years of confrontation with the KPI, they put forth a slogan about the need for cohesion and unity of actions of all leftist and democratic forces in the country, including the KPI.

#### On the Basis of Dialogue and Cooperation

All of this created good prerequisites for drawing together and normalizing the joint actions of both communist parties. At the end of the 1970's a new period began in the history of the Indian Communist movement, when the KPI and the KPI (M) began to seek areas for mutual cooperation and constructive dialogue. Both parties achieved definite successes in organizing common campaigns on the trade union front, and they initiated a broad, country-wide movement for the preservation of peace and against the threat of nuclear war, which was especially vividly manifested in the days of celebration of the 40th Anniversary of victory over German fascism.

Political cooperation is developing between the two parties. Thus, during the general parliamentary elections in January 1980 and December 1984 both parties acted jointly and agreed to promote a unified group of candidates in virtually all electoral districts.

Cooperation between parliamentary factions is implemented within the framework of a coordination committee of the two parties. Regular meetings of the leaders of both parties also take place, headed by (Radzheshvara Rao), general secretary, KPI National Council and (E. M. Sh. Nambudiripad), general secretary, KPI (M) Central Committee.

At present the KPI numbers 478,905 members in its ranks (as of March 1986) and the KPI (M) has 367,719 members (as of December 1985).

The KPI has six deputies in the House of the People of the Indian Parliament (out of 544) and five deputies in the upper house, the Council of States (out of 244); the KPI (M) has 22 and 13 deputies respectively.

In the 1984 elections, 6.2 million voters (2.7 percent) voted for KPI candidates and 13.3 million (5.7 percent) voted for KPI (M) candidates.

Trade union, peasant, youth, student and women's organizations and an organization of agricultural workers, numbering a total of approximately 5 million people, operate in the country under KPI leadership. The KPI (M) mass organizations number more than 10 million people. Moreover, KPI (M) representatives head left-democratic coalition governments in power in two Indian states -- West Bengal (since June 1977) and Tripura (since January 1978), in which approximately 60 million people live. In recent years a number of socio-economic transformations were carried out in the states in the interests of the broad strata of workers.

However, despite the drawing together and cooperation noted in recent years between the KPI and the KPI (M), the question of reunification of the Indian communist movement still remains open. The leaders of both parties declare their desire for such reunification on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, noting that the positions of the two parties "are now closer to one another than ever before" (from a speech by R. Rao at the 13th KPI Congress). However, a number of reasons still prevent this process.

Among them are the flareups of polemics in the party press; certain remaining ideological and theoretical disagreements between the parties of a programmatic nature (discussed above); different approaches to the events of the past years, especially to assessing the reasons for the split; the existence of a substantial layer of cadre workers who grew up and were educated under conditions of party conflict and the existence of two communist parties in the country.

At present the KPI and the KPI (M) support the foreign policy of India's government, which is directed against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism, and for further strengthening friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

In the field of domestic policy, both communist parties support efforts by India's government in its struggle against right-wing religious community and separatist forces and for the all-round strengthening of the unity and territorial integrity of the country. At the same time, both parties sharply criticize some aspects of the government's domestic policy, especially in the economic field, calling them "anti-democratic" and "anti-people." They believe that neither the Indian National Congress, nor other bourgeois parties can solve these complex problems which face the country at present. All of these positions were expressed in the resolutions of the 12th KPI (M)



Congress, held in Calcutta in December 1985, and those of the 13th KPI Congress in Patna, March 1986.

A KPI delegation headed by KPI National Council general secretary Rao and a KPI (M) delegation, including two members of the KPI (M) Central Committee Politburo (Kh. S. Surdzhit) and (M. Basavapunnayya) attended the 27th CPSU Congress. Both parties expressed profound satisfaction in the results of the 27th CPSU Congress, emphasized its tremendous international importance and assessed highly the new Soviet peace initiative.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

END TO CONTINUING ETHNIC CONFLICT IN SRI LANKA URGED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 June 86 p 5

[Article by Veniamin Shurygin under the rubric "We Answer the Reader":  
"The Conflict is Dragging Out"]

[Text] Reader V. Sidorov from Bryansk asks us to discuss the problem of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka.

Reports received a few days ago from Colombo testify to the fact that the tense situation in Sri Lanka is continuing. Government forces with the support of aviation have carried out operation after operation against the Tamil insurgents in the north of the country, trying by this method to resolve the extremely strained problem of the Tamil minority, which has been plaguing the country for a number of years.

The 15-million population of Sri Lanka is not homogeneous. The Sinhalese (approximately 11 million people) make up its basic mass. They play the dominant role in the political, economic and cultural life of the country. The second largest group (approximately 3 million people) is the Tamils, who migrated to the island at various times from neighboring India.

A significant segment of the Tamils consider that they are subjected to discrimination in the area of education, distribution of working places, in the sphere of state service and in relations regarding the use of the Tamil language.

The Tamil United Front for Liberation, which has its own representatives in the Lankan parliament, appears in the political arena of the country. In addition, a number of other organizations exist, including those of an extremist, separatist tendency. The largest of these today is the organization "Tigers of the Liberation of the Tamil Ilama". This organization, which has its own armed detachments, calls for the creation of an independent state--Tamil Ilama--on the territory with a predominantly Tamil population.

The drawn-out conflict has caused serious harm to the economic and political development of Sri Lanka. Several thousand people have been killed in the past few years during the course of military operations. The income from tourism--one of the main sources of currency receipts into the state coffer--has decreased. Military expenditures have

increased sharply: from 2.3 billion rupees in 1983 to 5.1 billion rupees in 1985. This money was spent primarily for acquiring military equipment.

All of this places a heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people of Sri Lanka, deepening the socioeconomic problems facing the country: poverty, unemployment and others. Therefore, democratic forces of the republic, including the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, are speaking out for resolution of the nationality question not by military, but by political methods, on the basis of regional autonomy within the framework of a unified state of Sri Lanka.

A narrow strait separates Sri Lanka from the southern Indian state of Tamilnad, where nearly 50 million Tamils live. They attentively follow the events on the island to see how the matter turns out for their Lankan co-nationalists. There are Tamil refugees located in Tamilnad, the number of which, according to official Indian data, reached 125,000 people in April.

From the very beginning India considered the ethnic problem on Sri Lanka an internal matter of the country and called for its resolution by peaceful means. Several rounds of negotiations between representatives of the Lankan government and the Tamil organizations have already taken place through its mediation. Unfortunately, they did not produce any positive results.

Recently the Indian press has been expressing concern and anxiety over the escalation of force in Sri Lanka, the cooperation of advisors from the Israeli and English special services with the Lankan security troops and the turn of the country's leadership to the west for aid in suppressing the resistance of the Tamil insurgents. Of course, they will always find those who love to pour oil on the fire. Therefore, everyone, for whom peace and stability in the South Asian subcontinent are dear, is interested in the soonest peaceful political resolution of the problem of the Tamil minority.

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